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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

TAMMANY SOCIETY.
—OR—
Columbian Order.

1776.



1863.

ANNUAL CELEBRATION

IN HONOR OF THE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

—OF—

American Independence,

AT TAMMANY HALL,

—ON—
SATURDAY JULY 4th, 1863.

New York:

BAPTIST & TAYLOR, STEAM BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS, SUN BUILDINGS,
COR. FULTON AND NASSAU STREETS.

1863.

CELEBRATION
BY THE
SOCIETY OF TAMMANY;
OR,
COLUMBIAN ORDER,
OF THE
87th Anniversary of our National Independence,
AT
TAMMANY HALL,
SATURDAY, JULY 4th, 1863.

THE members of the Tammany Society, fully awake to the necessity of "keeping alive the patriot flame" at this momentous crisis in our country's history, resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the nation's birth-day with unusual vigor; and, after a series of preliminary meetings, held by the Council of Sachems, the following programme of arrangements, under the especial charge of Sachems TAYLOR, DELAVAN, and BRENNAN, was adopted and published.

**SOCIETY OF TAMMANY: OR, COLUMBIAN ORDER,
CELEBRATION, SATURDAY, JULY 4th, 1863.**

ORDER OF ARRANGEMENTS:

The Sachems and Brothers will assemble in the Grand Wigwam at 11½ A. M., for the transaction of business. At 12 o'clock the Grand Council Chamber will be thrown open for the admission of members, invited guests and friends of the Society.

THE EXERCISES WILL COMMENCE AT ONE O'CLOCK PRECISELY, WITH
MUSIC.....NATIONAL GUARD BAND.
OPENING ADDRESS,.....BY GRAND SACHEM PURDY.
SONG AND CHORUS,.....THE FLAG OF OUR UNION. Father REED'S Quartette.
Accompanied on the piano by Prof. C. F. OLNEY.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Will then be read by Brother THOMAS C. FIELDS.

CHORUS.....Red, White and Blue,.....QUARTETTE.

DRAKE'S ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN FLAG,

Will be recited by HOSEA B. PERKINS, Esq.

Song and Chorus,.....BONNIE OLD FLAG,.....Quartette.

A Patriotic Poem, written expressly for the occasion and entitled

DEMOCRACY AND THE NATION,

Will be read by the Author, HENRY MORFORD, Esq.

BALLAD,.....By the QUARTETTE.

ORATION,.....By Hon. Henry C. Murphy.

BALLAD,.....Mr. GUSTAVUS GEARY.

The Exercises in the large room will conclude with the "STAR SPANGLED BANNER," to be sung by Father Reed's Quartette, accompanied by Prof. Olney and the National Guard Band, the audience rising and joining in the chorus. After which the members of the Society, with their friends and invited guests, will adjourn to the Banquet Room, where appropriate toasts will be responded to by distinguished Democrats of this city and state.

The Grand Council Chamber will be elaborately decorated with flags and emblems of all nations. The front seats will be reserved exclusively for ladies. Tickets of admission (which are gratis) can be obtained of either of the following

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS:

Sachem JOHN KELLY,	Sachem JOHN E. DEVELIN,	Sachem DANIEL E. DELAVAN,
Sachem ISAAC BELL,	Sachem CHAS. G. CORNELL,	Sachem MATT. T. BRENNAN,
Sachem PETER B. SWEENEY,	Sagamore G. S. MESSERVE,	Sachem ANDRE FROMENT,
Sachem RICH'D B. CONNOLLY,	Wiskinkie S. C. DURYEA,	Sachem EDWARD COOPER,
Sachem DOUGLAS TAYLOR,		Treasurer H. VANDEWATER,

CASPER C. CHILDS,

Secretary.

ELIJAH F. PURDY,

GRAND SACHEM.

RICHARD WINNE, *Scribe.*

JAMES B. NICHOLSON, *Father of the Council.*

Committee from the Democratic General Committee of New York:

WILLIAM M. TWEED,
JOHN Y. SAVAGE,
GEO. L. LOUTREL,
ALEXANDER BRANDON,
GEO. A. JEREMIAH,
JOHN FITCH,
JOHN McGRANE,

EDWARD MARRINER,
THOS. B. TAPPAN,
AARON B. ROLLINS,
JOHN CLANCY,
JOHN MOORE,
THOMAS BRADY,
PATRICK McMAHON,

TIMOTHY SULLIVAN,
JOHN HURLEY,
JOSEPH M. MARSH,
JAMES O'NEIL,
WILLIAM JOYCE,
ISAIAH RYNDERS,
JOHN E. RYER.

A sufficient indication of the success which rewarded the efforts of the Committee, and also of the patriotic feeling existing in the crowded audience, may be gathered from the subjoined account of the celebration, extracted from the able report of the *New York Sunday Dispatch* :

The day at Tammany was all that the most enthusiastic and intensely patriotic Sachems of the Old Wigwam could have desired. The controlling genius of the occasion was the "Spirit of '76," who not only superintended the exercises of the anniversary, but seemed to infuse into the minds of all present the loftiest thoughts which found utterance in eloquent words, in harmonious applause, and in gesticulation prolific with significance. It did not require any great exercise of the imagination to feel that the stalwart and impressive figure of Old Hickory was standing in the midst of the scene, casting its influence upon all, and pointing its immovable finger towards Gettysburg, declaring that the "Union must and shall be preserved." Even amid the festivities of the day all appeared to feel the impressiveness of the scene, and the loyal beating of every heart spoke in almost audible language of earnest devotion to the old flag, the stars of which shed a glorious lustre over the place.

Decorated with banners and other appropriate emblems, the old Wigwam afforded the widest scope for patriotic meditation. It filled every heart with pride, and implanted the conviction in every mind that

" Each day our Union's constellated banner
Gives joy to every patriotic heart,
Despite men's curses and the base endeavor
Of guilty hands to rend its folds apart "

The display of flags was unusually imposing. The colors, numbering several hundred, were hung about the room, entirely covering the walls, and were suspended in graceful festoons above the audience. The portraits of the Father of his Country, and of Harry of the West and General Lafayette, looked down upon the congregation, and the time-honored banners of the Society, together with the insignia of the thirteen original States, were conspicuously displayed in the "Great Council Chamber."

For an hour before the exercises began, the disciples of St. Tammany began to assemble in the old Wigwam. The great topic of the day, the news from Gettysburg—formed the principal theme of conversation, and elicited the most patriotic remarks from all who participated in the general discussion. Of course, there was considerable criticism indulged in, and some heavy batteries were opened upon some of the incumbents of high Governmental positions, but the one idea which was more prominent than all others was that the rebels should not only be driven in dismay from the old Keystone State, but that they should also be made to suffer a defeat which would result in the restoration of the Union and an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the old Flag. It was an inspiring scene fraught with suggestions of the most forcible nature.

Shortly after twelve Messrs. Douglas Taylor, Daniel E. Delavan and Matthew T. Brennan, the Special Committee of Arrangements, met and perfected the arrangements for making the Anniversary a feature of the most glorious description. The National Guard band in the mean time aided in keeping up the enthusiasm of the audience by playing a variety of national and popular airs, filling the old wigwam with excellent music. Among those who occupied seats upon the platform were, Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, Daniel E. Delavan, Esq., Judge C. P. Daly, Hon. James Brooks, Hon. John Stryker, of Oneida, Judge John M. Barbour, Judge Henry Hilton, Hon. Richard B. Connolly, Hon. Isaac Bell, Hon. John J. Bradley, Samuel B. Garvin, Esq., Hon. A. Oakley Hall, Hon. William McMurray, Judge Josiah Sutherland, Judge Edmund L. Hearne, Peter B. Sweeny, Esq., Douglas Taylor, Esq., Hon. John Clancy, Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr., Esq., John Murphy, Esq., George W. McLean, Esq., Hon. William Miner, Hon. Anson Herrick, Edward Marriner, Esq., Ald. Terence Farley, Ald. C. J. Chipp, Hon. William M. Tweed, Henry Vandewater, Esq., Hon. Thomas C. Fields, Casper C. Childs, Esq., Hon. James B. Nicholson, Thomas Dunlap, Esq., and Justice Dodge.

At one o'clock the Sachems and principal guests marched in the room, the officers being decorated with badges, and the guests designated by a rosette of red, white and blue ribbon, and at half-past one the exercises began by the meeting being called to order by the old War Horse of Tammany, Hon. E. F. Purdy, who addressed the society as follows:

ADDRESS OF GRAND SACHEM PURDY.

SACHEMS, BROTHERS AND FRIENDS:—We have assembled in this our great Wigwam, to celebrate another anniversary of a nation's birth-day. Our custom to do so is coëval with the existence of our Government. In the name of Tammany Society or Columbian Order I greet you with a cordial welcome. Yes, welcome, thrice welcome to our council chamber. This day eighty-seven years ago our forefathers proclaimed that Americans were of right a free and independent people. Auspicious the day, eventful the hour and most glorious the cause. An astonished world beheld a nation of freemen thinking, speaking and acting as such. The Union, the Constitution and the laws formed by the patriots of '76 will be preserved, sustained and defended by their descendants of '63. [Great applause.] Where and by whom can the anniversary of American Independence be more appropriately celebrated than in this Old Wigwam, and by Tammany Society, or Columbian Order—a society formed at an early period of our country's history, its founders deeply imbued with a love for civil and religious liberty and the right of man to self-government? I feel that I but express the sentiments of my brothers of the Order of St. Tammany and of the people of the great and patriotic city of New York, when I say that while we live we will meet here and keep alive the patriotic flame of liberty, equality and fraternity, and smoke the calumet of peace and good will with all supporters and defenders of the Union and the Constitution of our country. [Cheers.] As the patriot Jackson said so we say—"The Union: it must and shall be preserved!" [Applause.] Let us again renew our fealty to the Union, and pledge ourselves, one to the other, to cease not in our exertions and rest not from our labors until the Union as it was and the Constitution with all its inherent rights are maintained and defended, with one Union, one Constitution and government on the American continent. [Immense cheering.]

After appropriate music by the Band, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE was read with decided effect by BROTHER THOMAS C. FIELDS. The reading was listened to with the greatest attention, and elicited hearty and repeated cheers.

The next feature of the occasion was the reciting of *Drake's Address to the American Flag*, by HOSEA B. PERKINS, ESQ. Mr. PERKINS prefaced his recitation with a few remarks, which were warmly received by the audience, and his delivery of this splendid poem was loudly applauded throughout.

DRAKE'S ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN FLAG.

WHEN Freedom from her mountain height
 Unfurled her standard to the air,
 She tore the azure robe of night,
 And set the stars of glory there !
 She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
 The milky baldrick of the skies,
 And striped its pure celestial white
 With streakings of the morning light !
 Then, from his mansion in the sun,
 She called her eagle bearer down,
 And gave into his mighty hand
 The symbol of her chosen land !

Majestic monarch of the cloud !
 Who rear'st aloft thy regal form,
 To hear the tempest trumping loud,
 And see the lightning-lances driven,
 When stride the warriors of the storm,
 And rolls the thunder-drum of heaven,
 Child of the sun ! to thee 't is given
 To guard the banner of the free,
 To hover in the sulphur smoke,
 To ward away the battle-stroke,
 And bid its blendings shine afar,
 Like rainbows on the cloud of war,
 The harbinger of victory !

Flag of the brave ! Thy folds shall fly,
 The sign of hope and triumph high !
 When speaks the signal trumpet-tone,

And the long line comes gleaming on :
 Ere yet the life-blood, warm and wet,
 Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,
 Each soldier's eye shall brightly turn
 To where their meteor glories burn ;
 And, as his springing steps advance,
 Catch war and vengeance from the glance !
 And when the cannon-mouthings loud,
 Heave in wild wreaths the battle-shroud,
 And gory sabres rise and fall,
 Like shoots of flame on midnight's pall !—
 There shall thy victor glances glow,
 And cowering foes shall fall beneath
 Each gallant arm that strikes below
 That lovely messenger of death !

Flag of the seas ! on ocean's wave,
 Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave,
 When death, careering on the gale,
 Sweeps darkly round the swelling sail,
 And frightened waves rush wildly back
 Before the broadside's reeling rack,
 Each dying wanderer of the sea
 Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
 And smile to see thy splendors fly
 In triumph o'er his closing eye.

Flag of the free heart's only home,
 By angel hands to valor given !
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome
 And all thy hues were born in heaven :
 Forever float that standard sheet !
 Where breathes the foe that stands before us ?
 With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
 And freedom's banner streaming o'er us !

After another song and chorus by the Quartette, Mr. HENRY MORFORD was introduced by the Grand Sachem, and read the following poem, written by him for the occasion, with his accustomed ease and clearness. During the reading, Mr. Morford was frequently interrupted by applause, and at its close was enthusiastically cheered :

DEMOCRACY AND THE NATION.

BY HENNY MORFORD, Esq.

I.

Douglas Taylor, Old Tammany's printer in chief,
 Says "We must have a poem, but must have it brief,
 "Say something—pitch in—serve the right—flog the wrong—
 "Be earnest—be impudent—but—don't be long!"
 That's what *Douglas* says; adding with pleasantest smile,
 That "the rhyming is rather a bore all the while."
 Our friend Douglas is right—but before I obey
 Let me tell him a story that comes in the way.

II.

Old Dan Webster, one time in the height of his fame,
 As a lawyer was pushing some boundary claim
 Between two who lacked temper to settle their lines.
 Away down in the North Carolinian pines.
 He got left by a steamboat, or wagon, or stage
 Overnight, in the midst of the pines—and a rage.
 He put up in a shanty of clapboards and logs.
 Where the people divided their beds with the hogs,
 Where twelve tow-headed children, each minus a shirt,
 Ran round and seemed happy midst bed-bugs and dirt;
 And their 'parients' two corn-crackers, gangling and long,
 From a bottle took something that seemed to be strong.
 Well, Black Dan got his sleep, in the best way he might,
 And was glad to rouse up at the first peep of light,
 Taking breakfast of hoe-cakes and pork, and in haste
 To get off from that dirty and desolate waste.
 When breakfast was over, and ready the cart
 On which for '*some place*' he was making his start,
 He pulled out his pocket-book (quite in *his way*
 You remember) and asked them how much was to pay.
 The male corn-cracker, standing meanwhile at the door,
 With his wife had been whispering ten minutes or more.
 And when Webster presented a Wilmington note
 Wiped his nose on the cuff of his buttered coat,
 And replied in a manner most festive and gay,
 That old Dan ne'er forgot till his last dying day:
 "See here, stranger!—old woman and I, about that

" Just now have been having a bit of a chat.
 " You're the big Mr. Webster, they tell me, and so
 " We don't like to let you pay *money*, you know.
 " Supper, lodging and breakfast—now what do you say
 " To our trading it out in the handiest way?
 " Can't you give the old woman and me, for that ere
 " About *six shillings worth of a speech*, and quit square?"

III.

Old Dan used to tell off the story with zest,
 And made it foundation for many a jest,
 But he always declared that what bothered him worst
 And best furnished excuse when he inwardly cursed—
 Was *not* making a speech to those slab-sided drones
 Two in number, and made up of gristles and bones,—
 But *being cut down to so little a space* :
 " Why, confound it!" said Dan, with his quizzical face—
 " My chances just then were most dreadfully small!—
 " I couldn't get started for shillings, at all!"

I am not a Dan Webster, as Douglas well knows,
 Nor are you corn-crackers—yet, under the rose,
 We are all just alike,—if there's much in the head,
 Or only a little—we want *room to spread*.
 And so having proved why I *cannot* be brief,
 Let me be so, as furnishing quickest relief.

IV.

Were they jocular words, then, with which we begun,
 And sounds this like dealing with frolic and fun?
 If they were, let the time furnish ready excuse,
 For looking down noses is never of use.
 Darker days than those looming above us, no man
 Has seen or has thought of since freedom began;
 And the last time St. Tammany's Sons meet the call
 To gather for council within the *old hall*,
 May long be remembered as darker by far
 Than any yet dimming the national star.
 Let us hope that the memory further will go
 And show joy coming next when the pulses are low,
 Keeping up the old maxim of ages ago :—
 " The darkest hour's that which just heralds the dawn."

Let us hope that if Tammany gathers to-day
 With crape on its banners of warlike array,—
 It may meet in the forthcoming year, Sixty-four,
 With its pride and its hope bright as ever it wore,
 Every man going on with unfaltering tread
 To place the *right man* at the National head.
 Let us hope that two years hence, when comes Sixty-five,
 Freedom's hope in our land once more fully alive,
 Treason dead, foul secession a memory of shame
 That no man dares allow to attach to his name,—
 The Sons of St. Tammany once more may meet,
 With the *right man* firm fixed in the President's seat,
 And rejoice in the dangers their vigor has braved—
 In the foes they have met and the land they have saved.

V.

THEY *have saved*—did I say? Yes, I need not recall
 What may sound like a boast in the hearing of all.
 And this furnishes point to the lesson of truth
 That to-day by the council-fire proves to be sooth.

VI.

If the nation goes down, and its bright records close
 'Neath the constant assaults of unscrupulous foes,
 Let the lesson be set for the future to read—
 That Old Tammany took part nor lot in the deed,—
 That democracy, national, honest and true,
 Such as in the Great Wigwam so thriftily grew,
 Never weakened the nation or poisoned the State,
 Or gave treason its aid towards the national fate.

VII.

If the nation is saved—and who doubts of the end
 When we know Freedom's God must be freedom's best friend?
 If the nation is saved, it must be by such arts
 As Old Tammany taught to ten millions of hearts;—
 Not the arts of chicanery—sectional spite,—
 Theft or falsehood, usurping truth, reason and right,—
 Not the arts which crush white men as slaves, to the dust,
 And in squalid black skins put a confident trust;
 Not the arts which so err on the opposite side
 And to State-Rights would sacrifice national pride;—
 None of these are the arts by democracy taught
 And free given to the winds of unchained human thought.

VIII.

Other arts are democracy's—love of the land
 Spreading East, West, North, South, and on every hand ;
 Holding all as a brotherhood equal in right,
 Trampling down every wrong done by arrogant might ;
 Repairing injustice wherever displayed
 And relighting each star that might flicker and fade ;
 Bending low to the flag, if in triumph or loss,
 With a reverence next to that paid to the cross ;
 Thinking every square foot of American ground
 The most sacred and holy in earth's circling bound,—
 And "American citizen", far or at home,
 A name privileged quite, like the boast of old Rome.
 Such arts towards the country—such arts towards the land,
 As within our own households draw love's closest band,
 Arts of love, truth, good feeling—these have welded the chain ;
 These must save us, if ever we flourish again.

IX.

'Tis a dark day—a sad one :—so patriots feel
 On this day that such glory was wont to reveal—
 When the flap of the banner, from shore unto shore,
 By the cannon was answered with thundering roar,
 And the sage in the hall and the boy in the street
 On one level of pride were contented to meet,
 And the proud words that greeted each gathering host
 Were known as no hollow and arrogant boast,
 But a truth that each year gave a glorious increase,
 Of a great nation happy in power and peace.

X.

What has changed us ? What dark demon frightens the air
 And makes national pride droop its wing to despair ?
 Nothing less—nothing more—than fanatical schemes
 That have mocked at all bound and run wild on extremes.
 The safe middle ground has been scorned as a rule,
 Made the jeer of the schemer and scoff of the fool ;
 And the man who refused to accept as his creed
 Some ultra belief that black discord would breed,
 And to act for one-sided, blind, sectional weal,—
 Has been trodden and crushed 'neath the popular heel,—
 Called a "doughface", a mean, narrow-spirited elf,
 With no love for the race and no faith in himself.
 "Be something !" they cried—it was no matter what,

So each added some cup to the simmering pot,
And did something to hasten the fury and storm
That the witches of treason were shaping to form.

XI.

And so each has grown *something*. Two mighty arrays
With their torches close linked hold the land in a blaze :
The dark Southern traitor, his weapon in hand
And his covert supporters wide over the land,—
And his gaunt Northern brother, more subtle and still,
Yet quite as effective for national ill,
Who can talk of no sin but the slaveholder's vice,
And would free every slave, with his country the price.
Both sides labor together to compass our fall :
They are national enemies—enemies all.
And the patriot band would be justified quite,
In this great people's eye and God's holier sight,
That could raise in this trying and difficult hour,
And assume for the time such a terrible power
As would sweep *all* the ultraists—East, West, North, South,
Where the heathen were swept by the breath of His mouth.

XII.

But remember these men are not *democrats*—no,
Though some of one class may dare call themselves so.
They have no more true claim to the democrat's pride,
Than an oyster's a ship when it clogs up her side :
They have never to use made a nearer approach
Than that many-times-quoted fifth wheel to a coach :
They are of us, no more than the plunderers whose tread
Close follows an army to rifle the dead.
Are part of those glorious brothers in arms
Whose breasts meet the shock when war's trumpet alarms.

XIII.

The true democrat—ever the country's best friend,
Tried and faithful at first, has been so to the end.
In the days of our peace when the patriot's dreams
Seemed so nearly fulfilled—he avoided *extremes*.
'Tween ultraists ever a bulwark he stood,
With no motive less high than the whole country's good,
While his hand held the power, although parties might chafe.
Discord failed of its end and the country was safe ;
And 'twas only when power was wrested away
By the hand of a faction, that gloomed the *dark day*.

XIV.

When Sumter went down, for the country he rose
 Bidding comfort to friends and defiance to foes ;
 His hand quickest grasped at flag, musket and sword,
 When the conflict began with the butter-nut horde ;
 At every defeat he has risen again,
 While the joy of each victory has flushed through his brain ;
 "Constitution and Union" his watchwords have formed,
 And *his country's* the best love his bosom that warmed.
 Not *the South* has he fought, but the traitors it gave ;
 Nor ignored the whole *white* race to favor the slave.

XV.

The War for the Union he soundly approves,
 For 'tis waged to preserve the old country he loves ;
 But the mode of its waging is imbecile still,
 And that he assaults and defends at his will.
 He hates Bastiles, and yet not the fear of their reach
 Can crush from his heart his belief in *free speech* ;
 He hates treason, and lukewarmness scarcely the less,
 And yet he calls out for *free thought* and *free press*.
 He loves *peace*, and to joy all his pulses would spring,
 To see it once more o'er us wave its white wing ;
 But no peace, *with dishonor* - no pause in the strife,
 While murder's red hand is yet aimed at our life !
 A quick, vigorous war, men of brains at the helm,
 That all treason's resources shall beggar and whelm,
 Till the whole world once more feels the old Union bands,—
 This is what he will fight for and what he demands.

XVI.

Though the rebel foot treads Pennsylvanian soil
 And his ready hand gathers its millions of spoil,—
 Though the thunder of cannon from Gettysburgh heights
 The weak-nerved fills with horror—the timid affrights,—
 Though SICKLES lies maimed and though REYNOLDS is dead,
 And the soil with the best blood we knew—is made red,
 Yet the fight must go on, and no cheek must grow pale,
 For the country is lost if our energies fail ;
 And not only our sunlight in night will go down,
 But the millions who bow at the nod of a crown.
 Will cry out : "So we told you ! The effort is vain !
 See self-government tottering and falling again !"
 Shall this be so, and freedom's best hopes lick the dust,

When on *us* she has rested unfaltering trust?
 Over roarings of cannon—o'er moanings of wo—
 I hear this great people wide thundering—"NO!"

XVII.

Two years since, when freedom's glad birth-day went by,
 Old Tammany's voice gave detraction the lie,
 And declared for the Union at every cost,
 Till the last coin be spent and the last man be lost.
 One year since that voice had an echo as clear,
 Though its bravest sons lay in that grave of a year.
 It was WALBRIDGE spoke first—it was DALY whose word
 For freedom and right in the second we heard;
 It is MURPHY whose voice, home from Europe's old lands,
 Shall tell us to-day where democracy stands.

XVIII.

One word more, and with that or a dozen instead
 Let us heed Douglas Taylor and cut off the thread.
 Old Tammany, speaking democracy's voice,
 Has a word for the man of the whole people's choice.
 Not for President—no, let the future decide
 Whether SEYMOUR may not fill that station of pride;—
 But for *General*: our army the great fight must win,
 And 'tis time, fully time for the end to begin.
 Let the shout ring abroad from Old Tammany Hall,
 And ten millions, at least, will respond to the call:
 For the Union the land will yet suffer and bleed,
 And though gladly it trades off JOE HOOKER for MEADE,
 And believes in the latter's pluck, vigor and speed,
 That already have taught *Lee* a lesson to read,—
 And will shout to the echo to see him succeed,—
 Yet it asks for its armies, McCLELLAN to lead.

The Quartette then sang the beautiful ballads of "THE VACANT CHAIR," and "WHEN THIS CRUEL WAR IS OVER."

The Orator of the day, the Hon. HENRY C. MURPHY, was then introduced to the audience by Grand Sachem PURDY, who in a few enlogistic remarks alluded to the past and present services of "our Kings County brother." After the applause which greeted him had subsided, Senator MURPHY proceeded as follows:

ORATION.

BY HON. HENRY C. MURPHY.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS:—We meet to-day to commemorate the birth of the nation, and to renew our pledges of fidelity to the Constitution under which we find protection and security for our civil and religious rights. We meet for a political purpose, but not as mere partisans. While we recall, with the deepest feelings of gratitude and admiration, the trials, the privations, the sacrifices, the sufferings, the heroic courage, the deeds of daring, and the unwavering devotion to the cause of liberty of those who won our independence, we offer the like homage of our hearts to their memory for the republican institutions which they bequeathed to us, as the crowning glory of their revolution. We regard it as a patriotic, and ever constant duty, to maintain the principles which they thus established, and to guard them as well against the insidious and covert attacks of the enemies of popular liberty, as against the open violence of faction. [Cheers.] In this spirit we invite all to participate in our proceedings this day, who acknowledge those principles, and who accept, as the watchwords of their political faith, the CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION. Until the breaking out of the present unhappy troubles in the country, the annual recurrence of the day has been the occasion amongst us of universal joy and pride and gratulation at the progress of the Republic. Under the benign influence of a free constitutional government, the nation had attained an unexampled growth, and was standing in the front rank of the powers of the world.

Enterprise and invention were stimulated by leaving with the people the rewards of their industry. Virtue and intelligence were encouraged by throwing open to all the paths to public honors. Homes and firesides were made happy in the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom. Immigration flowed in upon the land, in a bold and unceasing current, under the protection and privileges which were extended to the oppressed of other nations, and the fair and easy conditions upon which they were incorporated into the body politic. Foreign nations respected us because we extended to them all that we demanded from them—justice and right. The blessings of education were made accessible to every child of the Republic. The arts and sciences flourished. The comforts and elegances of life were placed within the reach of every portion of the people. The virgin soil yielded the richest harvests to a contented husbandry: the products of the country were exchanged for those of others, by means of a commerce whose tonnage exceeded that of any other nation in the world; and our manufactories gave remunerative employment to multitudes of every handicraft. The resources and energies of the land were marvellous. These beneficent effects of free institutions were regarded by the civilized world with astonishment, and by despots with fear. They could not be hid. They were silently making a change in arbitrary government everywhere, and giving hopes of liberty to millions who never expected to reach our shores. The discovery of the New World—an event to which historians agree in attributing the most marked amelioration in the physical condition of the nations of Europe had not a greater influence in that respect than the successful experiment of self-government and republican institutions here exerted upon their political state. These grand results were the legitimate fruits of the Government which the patriots of the Revolution formed. Independence of the mother country would have been a barren triumph if the freedom achieved by them had not been wisely

regulated, and a Government established for the whole people. Discord and sectional strife must have been the inevitable consequence of divided dominion over questions of common interest. Such indeed had been, to some extent, the experience under the old Articles of Confederation. They therefore sought, in those respects, to make us one—to bind us together as a nation, presenting us to the world as a single political power, by conferring upon the General Government exclusive and supreme authority in conducting foreign relations; entering into treaties with other nations; making war and peace; regulating commerce; raising armies and supporting a navy; and cementing us together at home by granting a like authority over certain subjects of general concern, such as establishing a postal system, coining money, imposing and collecting duties, and establishing rules of naturalization. But these powers were not to be employed so as to abridge the liberties of the people in regard to the free exercise of religion, freedom of speech and of the press, and immunity of life, liberty and property, except by due process of law. Congress was made the depository of these powers, and the Congress was formed by a representation of the whole people, and of the States upon bases which were compromises of numerical strength and peculiar interests. Thus the Union gave us one name, so that every citizen of every State was an American. It gave us one flag, representing one great nation—a banner which, wherever it waved in any quarter of the habitable globe, was respected. It gave us national glories, whether won by the valor of our troops on the battle-field, or by genius and enterprise in the pursuits of peace. It gave us national songs and traditions, which were sung and cherished with equal delight in every portion of the Republic. It gave us, apparently, one pre-eminent destiny, that of the most extended, the most powerful, the most free country the world ever saw. [Cheers.] It did all this, because, in the language of Washington, “it made us one people,” and because, in the language of Jackson, “the allegiance of the citizens of the

States were transferred, in the first instance, to the Government of the United States, and they became American citizens." The Constitution which established our nationality and the indivisibility in the particulars just named, may not be perfect, though, as the experience of seventy years has shown, it is the most perfect work of the kind that ever emanated from human wisdom. [Applause.] Its framers did not present it as a perfect instrument, nor was it adopted as such. In providing in it, however, in what manner it could be amended, they pointed out the only way in which its imperfections could be remedied. To say that the Union is a mere copartnership or league of the States to be dissolved at the pleasure of any one or more of them is, therefore, to contradict the history, the language, and the design of the Constitution, as well as the uniform action of the people under it, and the solemn declaration of all the States themselves, save one, at the time the doctrine of secession was first put forth in South Carolina. "*The Constitution*," says the Father of his Country in his farewell address, "*till changed by an explicit act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.*"

That great and good man, whose memory and counsels it is peculiarly proper on this occasion to recall, forewarned us also that the dangers which might beset the Union could not be prevented by constitutional provisions, but only by the virtue and patriotism of the people; that they would be found in the efforts of ambitious men to create geographical parties, and in the madness of party spirit. He forewarned us of both, but his advice has not been heeded. These perils have at last been encountered, and their evils are now upon us.

We meet therefore to-day, not as formerly with exuberant feelings of joy and pride, to felicitate ourselves upon the blessings which have flowed upon us as a nation, but with emotions of sorrow and humiliation, and in the midst of a civil war whose magnitude and miseries have scarcely a parallel in history. The glory of America is obscured, the prestige of its greatness is

apparently gone, the hopes of the friends of constitutional liberty are despairing, and the Government itself is on the verge of destruction. This occasion, therefore, is one which demands that we should address ourselves to the duty which we owe at this hour to our country and to the memory of those who have committed to our keeping the ark and covenant of liberty.

As, according to Washington, the Constitution is sacredly binding upon all, the general government is entitled to the paramount allegiance of every citizen of the Union. If it be a government at all, it is a government for the whole people, North and South. It is equally the duty of all sections of the Union to sustain it in all its constitutional powers, and to submit to all laws passed in accordance with them. There can be no escape by any one from this obligation. The artifice of the secession of a State where the insurgent may reside cannot absolve him from his allegiance to the just authority of the Union. The State can only act upon him within the scope of its own sovereign powers and in subordination to those of the general government.

Had there been an encroachment by the general government upon the reserved rights of the States or of the people of the South, and had redress, after proper representation, been denied them, it would have presented the case where an oppressed people, rising in defense of their liberties, would have been justified in taking up arms, upon the same principle as that which sanctioned the resistance of our fathers to British tyranny. The right of revolution overrides all law in such case, because it is the only alternative left against the abuse of power. But it is not that the federal government has infringed upon the rights of the States or has abused the powers entrusted to it; it is not that it has deprived any portion of the country of its just rights or has failed to protect them, that the present rebellion has arisen. Not a single grievance of the kind has been or can be alleged against it. It may be that its policy has not always been the

one most favorable to the South, but it has not been less so to the people of that section, than to others. It has, however, never adopted a policy which had not its advocates there. And, what is more important, its policy at the breaking out of the rebellion was in full accord with their wishes and could not have been altered, however much it may have been threatened, if the South had remained true to the Union and to its friends in the North. [Applause.]

We must look for the motives of the rebellion beyond the acts of the general government. In asserting its independence of the Union, the South vindicates no right, redresses no wrong. Its course may be traced ultimately to the fact that it has lost the controlling power in the government. In the natural progress of events, the South, like the North and East, has been outnumbered both in the Senate and in the popular branch of Congress. For nearly three-quarters of a century it has, by means of its power in the Senate, dictated the policy of the Government, and has enjoyed a disproportioned share of the honors of the Republic. But by the extension of the Union and the consequent admission of new States it at last lost that control. Certain ambitious men of the South could not brook the position in which they were thus placed, and under one pretext and another have steadily sought for years to establish an independent government in which they would possess a ruling power and influence. For this purpose they have persistently misrepresented to the people of the South the sentiments of the people of the North in regard to slavery in the States under the Constitution. They have fomented and encouraged a sectional feeling in this respect against the North, until it ripened into bitter hostility. In this they have unfortunately been assisted by the small band of abolitionists in the North, pursuing their one idea regardless of the Constitution and the Union. State after State in the North, under the guidance of men seeking local power, has passed laws in violation of State comity and

constitutional obligations in regard to slavery to satisfy these fanatics. Yet, with all these acts of the Northern States, unkind, but not of any serious effect other than to produce a just irritation in the South against the authors of them, the General Government has maintained its course undeviatingly in sustaining the rights of the South.

The object, therefore, of the promoters of this rebellion is final separation and a division of the Union. To this end they have seized the forts and property of the Union within the Southern limits, have defied the authority of the General Government, made war, and declared themselves our enemies until we consent to the separation. The naked question is presented to us, will we consent? [No! no! and cheers.]

To do so would be the first step in the entire disintegration of the Union,—the prelude to a division sooner or later into several governments, if not into as many as there are States. No one can look upon the geography of the country which will be left after taking from the Union the Southern States and permit himself to hope that it could long remain united. Whenever the conflict of sectional interests might arise, the precedent of secession, being once established, would become the example for further separation without a struggle. And what then? Instead of presenting to the world the accomplished fact of a powerful nation, demanding and securing from it undisturbed peace and prosperity, we would afford it the spectacle of so many petty sovereignties engaged in defending themselves from each others encroachments. We would gain the contempt of other nations, and lose all influence or power to resist their aggressions.

But to submit to the claims of the rebellion is not only to abandon the Union, and to yield our territorial rights to hostile hands, but it is to incur the crime and perfidy of surrendering to faction the sacred trust of republican government committed to our hands. With ample powers conferred upon the govern-

ment for its own preservation, with no just cause for separation, we would be recreant to duty, and unworthy of the liberties we have inherited, if we hesitated for a moment to maintain the authority of the Union in its fullest integrity. [Applause.]

“ Reproach and everlasting shame
Would mock us in our plumes ”

It is indeed said by the rebels, and reiterated even here in our midst, that the general government has no power to coerce the states into obedience to its authority. This is a doctrine invented for the purpose of deceiving those who, unable to discover the right of secession, would still effect its object without doing violence to their consciences. The power to suppress insurrection is expressly given to Congress, without limitation or qualification: and in exercising this power, as in the discharge of all its functions, the general government acts directly upon the individuals owing it paramount allegiance, and not upon the states. The states can no more interpose between it and the insurgents in arms than they could between it and a merchant who owes duties at the Custom house.

The sophistries of secession and non-coercion of states cannot avail. They are equally unfounded. They are twin abortions. They are repugnant to the natural instincts of the people, and contrary to the national conscience, grounded as it is in the constitution, and enlightened by the precepts of Washington and the fathers of the republic. The people repudiated them when traitorous hands struck at the flag of the Union in the opening scene of the rebellion, and forgetting their party differences and animosities, they rushed to its defense as one man. In the spirit and alacrity with which the people then acted, we find to-day the continuous duty of every loyal citizen. [Great applause.] The rebellion strikes at the existence of all government and at our dearest interests and rights. It matters not who may represent the government for the time being. It is enough that it is in hands to which it has been committed by

the constitution. It is to be sustained for ourselves, and for our children; for the sake of social order and of civil liberty; as a duty to those who founded it, and to the brave souls who have laid down their lives in this contest, and who are still battling under the banner of the Unión. [Loud cheers.]

Loyalty of the people to the government, however, is not all that is required by the present emergency. There is also a loyalty, so to speak, due from the government to the people. The obligation is reciprocal. The government must not transcend its lawful powers, nor encroach upon the rights of the citizen. It is the warning voice of the past that gives the admonition. The history of civil wars is replete with examples of power, usurped under the plea of necessity, ending in permanent military despotism. Therefore it is that the people are jealous of power and jealous of their privileges. Fortunately for us, there is no difficulty in defining the limits of the one or the other. The Constitution is here still our guide.

This is not a war of conquest or subjugation. Such a war under any circumstances would be contrary to the nature and genius of our institutions, which are based upon the right of the people to self-government, and are abhorrent to dominion by force. It would be anti-republican and inhuman. But in the present instance the war is for a definite object. The purpose on the part of the government can rightfully only be to restore the supremacy of the laws and to disarm rebellion. Its duty and authority are plainly written in the constitution—"to suppress insurrection." If the war should cease to-morrow, the insurgents could not be held as a subjugated people. They would be freemen, amenable it is true to the laws for their conduct, but still freemen possessing all the rights of other citizens of the republic.

Measures, therefore, adopted for any other end than to compel obedience to the constitution and laws of the general government, are unauthorized, and tend to weaken the cause

of the Union and to effect the object of the rebellion. Especially of that unwarrantable character are those measures which seek to subvert the fundamental institutions of the states, so that upon the return of peace and union those institutions will be abolished. I refer now to domestic slavery. As a system of state policy, whether in peace or war, the general government can have nothing to do with it. In a state of civil war, slaves of insurgents share the same fate as their other property falling into the hands of the government. As I have previously observed, the government, in using coercive measures, acts upon individuals and not upon the states: and on the other hand, the acts of these states against the authority of the government are not binding upon their citizens. Indiscriminate measures, therefore, which emancipate the slaves of Union men, as well as rebels, are unauthorized, and can have no other purpose than to exterminate the institution. Their effect is to absolve Union men, who are slaveholders, from their allegiance, to add to the number of those in rebellion, and to intensify the war. For the accomplishment of such a purpose the constitution-abiding men of the country will not consent. It is not that they regard slavery and slaveholders with special care. If slavery as an institution be an evil, moral and political, it is one which attaches not to them. It is left by the Constitution to be regulated by the states. They wish to leave it as their fathers left it. They see in this war a resistance to the authority of the general government alone; and hence their lives, and the lives of their sons, are not to be sacrificed for the abolition of slavery in the South, any more than for the abolition of serfdom in Russia.

The idea of subjugation is hostile to the whole policy upon which the government should conduct the war. Its measures, while decided, should be with no spirit of conquest or revenge. The citizens of the South, however misled, are our brothers still. The number of them engaged in the rebellion is too

great, the vigor and energy with which it is carried on, show too much the sincerity of their feelings in their cause, their temper and courage have been too thoroughly tested, to permit us to treat them otherwise. The legitimate consequences of their acts they must indeed suffer as long as they resist. But we could not justify ourselves to the world in seeking to destroy them. We should rather hold out terms of conciliation and peace, and a return to that paternity which made us and them prosperous and strong—strong enough to resist the world in arms.

The masses of the Southern people have been led to believe that the North meditates an interference with their state rights, and in that belief they have entered upon the rebellion, and have for two years successfully maintained their independence. Such is not the intention on our part; yet no attempt has been made by the government to undeceive them. It demands an unconditional submission on their part. No proffer of an opportunity for peace has been offered. The people of the South should be made to understand that every advantage of freedom and protection in their rights will be secured to them, in order that they may see that there is no benefit to accrue to them by separation. In the position which they have maintained, it would not be derogatory to our honor or dignity, nor would it be unwise or unprecedented to extend to them the olive branch. We must never forget that they are our countrymen, bound to us by a common origin, a common interest, a common language, and a common faith. [Applause.] If after a fair and honorable opportunity, a just accommodation be refused by them, we shall then stand acquitted before God and man for the great effusion of human blood and the incalculable misery which the continuance of this conflict must necessarily cause, until peace and order be restored.

Affecting each of us personally and entirely indefensible is the attempt of the government to suppress opinion in regard to

its acts, and to punish by martial law citizens not in the military or naval service. [Applause.] This is a government of opinion. It is subject to change every four years by that means alone. Its policy and measures are necessarily the subject of animadversion as well as of praise. It is only by a free and unrestricted discussion of them that a weak and imbecile administration can be changed; for without information the people will not know how to act. Mr. Jefferson went so far, in his first inaugural address, as to say: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve the Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." And so may we say, that if there are any who wish to make peace by the division of the Union, let them stand undisturbed, for the same reason. Such opinions do not constitute treason or an offence against the laws. For the people have a right, in their ultimate character in convention, to adopt such a policy if they deem it wise. For offences, such as the actual encouragement of insurrection, Congress can pass laws under the power to suppress insurrection. They have done so, and men violate those laws at their peril. The rights of speech and the press do not import immunity for whatever may be said or written. If any violate the law in so doing, they are punishable by the law, but by the civil law alone. It is monstrous to take a citizen for any alleged offence whatever, and subject him to a military court. There is no lawful power in any department of the government, or in all of them combined, to do it. [Loud applause.] The suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* does not authorize it. The public safety authorizes the suspension of that privilege; but that suspension extends no further than to subject the party to the trial which the law authorizing such suspension may provide; and Congress in providing such a trial, is bound by the guarantees

secured to the citizen in the constitution, to give him a trial according to the course of the common law.

The idea that the President has any power arbitrarily to determine when the public safety may require the imprisonment and condemnation by court-martial of a citizen, is to place all our personal rights at his feet. He is not to judge of the public safety;—that belongs to the people through their representatives in Congress. It is his duty to see the laws executed, and as a military commander to confine his powers to military men and military operations. The people have gone into the present contest for upholding the Union for the sake of liberty—constitutional liberty. It would be strange, indeed, if they would surrender that to a military despotism. [Applause.]

But I will pursue the subject no further. When the invaders are thundering at the gates of the Capital, it might seem an ill-timed censoriousness upon the President to say more. His embarrassments we must admit, his patriotism we will not doubt, but his evil counsels and mistakes we must deplore. We have, however, a present duty to perform before which all other considerations must temporarily yield. It is told of the old Roman, Fabius, when the great Carthaginian had in his sight, defeated his rival, and the way to Rome seemed open to the victorious Hannibal, he addressed his soldiers in these terms: “If any of you have a regard for Minucius, exert yourselves, for he deserves assistance for the love he bears his country. If in his haste he has committed any error, this is not the time to find fault with him.” In the same spirit, while we firmly remonstrate against the invasion of our rights, we will sustain the President in the impending struggle by all the aid in our power to bestow, and our patriotic prayers for his success against the enemies of the Union. [Cheers.]

The present danger happily past, let us hope that the Government and people, pursuing in their respective spheres a

line of duty, patriotic and just, may, before another anniversary of this day, see our country again united and happy under the Constitution and Republican Institutions of our fathers, and made stronger by the sad experience of the last two years, putting forever to silence the sneers and mockeries of the monarchists and aristocrats of the world, and cheering the hearts of the friends of freedom everywhere. [Applause.] But if this hope shall not be realized, whatever disaster may now or hereafter befall the armies of the Union, let us not despair of the Republic; but, conscious of right, and doing our whole duty to our country, let us ever hold on to the Constitution and the Union in a spirit of conciliation, and in the hope of peace, but not by submission to the demands of those who will have peace on no other terms than separation. [Loud and continued cheers.]

THE Grand Sachem then read a resolution, offered by Col. DELAVAN, conveying the thanks of the Society to Brothers MURPHY and FIELDS, and to Messrs. MORFORD and PERKINS, and also acknowledging the kindness of Messrs. GEARY, OLNEY, "Father REED'S Quartette," and Messrs. BRISTOW and HARDENBROOK. The resolution was enthusiastically adopted, as was also a resolution to publish the proceedings in pamphlet form.

Mr. GUSTAVUS GEARY then sang, in splendid style, the pathetic ballad, "*Dear Mother, I've come home to die*," which was tumultuously encored, and the patriotic Irish melody of "*The Minstrel Boy*." After which the "*Star Spangled Banner*" was sung by the Quartette, the entire audience joining heartily in the chorus.

This concluded the exercises in the large hall, and Grand Sachem PURDY, in thanking the audience for their attention, invited them to visit Tammany Hall on the next recurrence of the anniversary, when he hoped they would celebrate the restoration as well as the formation of "The Union."

“ THE BANQUET ROOM.”

A splendid collation, including a sufficiency of punch, champagne and edibles of every description, had been prepared by Mr. PEARSALL in the large room of the General Committee, and the larger portion of those present at the exercises remained and partook of the good things so plentifully provided for them. As soon as the room was well filled, and while the guests were occupied in partaking of the “ Waters of the Great Spring,” the Hon. HORATIO SEYMOUR, Governor of the State of New York, entered the room, and was introduced by the Grand Sachem to the assembled multitude. In answer to the tumultuous cheers and calls of the audience, the Governor addressed them as follows :

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

It gives me great pleasure to meet with the members of Tammany Society on this occasion. I thank you for this kind reception, and for the generous support you have given me heretofore. In these days of change and disorder it is cheering to enter the hall of an institution which has outlived so many organizations ; which stands almost the sole survivor of those which were founded at the time of its creation, which is as old as the Government itself. Age has brought with it no weakness. Its influence was never greater than at this time.

Rumors reach us that our soldiers have gained great victories. This society has a deep interest in every battle-field ; for it has sent forth its sons at every call, and to-day, in pursuance of my orders, a large number of its members are defending a sister State from armed invasion.

This society, during its long history, has embraced among its members, many of the most eminent men of our State. It has proved true, not only to national honor, but also to the rights of the State, and the franchises of its citizens. I am happy to

meet with its members on this national anniversary, which they have observed for so many years. I give you—

“Tammany Society—ancient, honorable, vigorous and patriotic; may it ever in the future, as in the past, prove true to the Constitution of our country, the flag of our Union, and the rights of the States.”

After the cheering had subsided and the sentiment of the Governor had been received with “all the honors,” the GRAND SACHEM announced that the regular order would be proceeded with, and gave the first regular toast:

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE :—May the next anniversary of this memorable day be celebrated in every State of the Union—recognizing the Constitution in the spirit in which it was founded—and the entire people of our now distracted land bound together in bonds of equality, concord and fraternity.

To which the HON. THOMAS C. FIELDS responded.

To the second regular toast:

WASHINGTON :—The Soldier, Patriot and Statesman,—His name and services are imperishably identified with the liberty, glory and prosperity of the American people.

Mr. HOSEA B. PERKINS responded as follows:

The theme upon which I have been invited to address you is a somewhat hackneyed one. Yet I would ask the question: Can the American people ever become satiated with the name of Washington? But, on the contrary, will not our admiration of him increase as our country increases in population and extent, in greatness and glory: and when our land shall become the great centre of agriculture and commerce, of art and arms, of science, literature, and song, will not, then, millions of free-men venerate the name of him who was the master spirit in laying the foundation of the Republic on the broad basis of constitutional liberty? True, we might mention many who

have done good in their day, and left the enduring impress of their character upon the age in which they lived; and, while we point with pride to Franklin, the philosopher; to Jefferson, the statesman; and Jackson, the soldier and patriot, our hearts, all unbidden, turn with their warmest love to Washington. There is hardly a being throughout the civilized world, that knows anything, that is not somewhat familiar with his character. Who does not know him as the young man who, at the early age of twenty-one stepped forth the fearless and undaunted champion of his country's rights; and, when other brave men paled and cowered before the enemies of freedom, he stood firm as a god amid the ruins of a world? Who does not know him as the gallant leader of that heroic little band that crossed the Delaware on that dark, cold, and stormy December night, and won for himself a name that will outlive, in history, that of the three hundred brave Spartans who fell at the bloody pass of Thermopylæ. What, Sir, is the fame of the great Athenian and Spartan, when compared with the imperishable halo of glory that encircles the brow of Washington.

"Rome had its Cæsar, great and brave,
But stain was on his wreath;
He lived the heartless conqueror,
And died the tyrant's death."

Yes, the lustre of the Roman conquests were tarnished by their inhumanity to the conquered; but, the diadem on the head of Washington loses none of its brilliancy by any cruel or revengeful act. What earthly being so pure as Washington! Who has given so much proof that he was so far above all human temptation? Napoleon, wonderful as he was in the originality of his intellect—grand and powerful as all acknowledge him to have been in genius and skill—could never reach the highest pinnacle of earthly renown, for his was not that "moral grandeur that makes the mighty man." Napoleon was the representative of a wild and furious democracy, that burst

forth like a heaving volcano in the sunny land of France; but Washington was the embodiment of those great principles of civil and religious liberty, so dear to us all. His transcendent character has inspired the lips of the orator, and guided the pen of the poet. It called forth the homage of Old Albion's gifted child of song, when he wrote the immortal lines :

" Can tyrants but by tyrants conquered be,
And Freedom find no champion and no child,
Such as Columbia saw arise when she
Sprung forth a Pallas, armed and undefiled ?

" Or must such minds be nourished in the wild
Deep in the unpruned forest, 'midst the roar
Of cataracts, where nursing Nature smiled
On infant Washington."

Let us then, my fellow-citizens, emulate his character. Let us resolve, at every hazard, and at whatever cost, to maintain those great Constitutional liberties bequeathed to us by Washington and his compatriots. Never, O never, my fellow-democrats, let the light of this noble Government go down in anarchy and blood to an ignoble grave. Uphold the pillars of this fair temple of our liberty in your day and generation (at least) as a home for the exile and wanderer from any land.

" In the long vista of years to come,
May we not see our country's honor fade,
But O may she retain her soul, her freedom,
And not Freedom's shade !"

Whenever we, as a nation, cease to cherish the memory of Washington, then, indeed, will the stars of heaven shine upon an ungrateful and degenerate race. His image may fade from the canvas—yon statue of bronze and granite may moulder away—Columbia's hills may, in the desolating march of time, be crumbled into dust—yet, while there lives in God's bright earth a solitary being whose heart beats to the transports of liberty, Washington will be to him the great exemplar of all

that is pure, patriotic, and glorious! Noble Washington, great champion of Liberty! Old Mother Earth never nurtured on her kindly bosom a truer patriot. Heaven never admitted within its radiant gates a more God-like spirit.

To the third regular toast—

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES:—It was founded in a spirit of justice and equal rights—it must be obeyed by the Government as well as by the people.

Mr. HERNY L. CLINTON responded as follows :

GRAND SACHEM, BROTHERS OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY AND FELLOW DEMOCRATS :

Since the last commemoration of our national birth-day, the Tammany Society, the Democracy of the City of New York, of the State and of the North and West, have had great cause for rejoicing. When we met, one year ago to-day, the political skies were shrouded in black, the whole land was overspread with darkness. But when the news of election after election traveled over the country on the wings of lightning, that darkness was followed by the light of Democratic reason, until at length the political firmament was studded with the stars of Democracy. The heart of every Democrat leaped with joy to behold shining forth, with resplendent lustre, that polar-star of national Democracy—Horatio Seymour. [Tremendous applause.]

So long as our political pilots steer their course by that star, the Union is safe. It can defy the rocks of secession and the quick-sands of black republicanism. [Applause.] Our opponents take courage, and would fain believe that although the Democracy arose in their might and swept republican fanaticism from power in this State, yet they (the republicans) as a party, only met with a slight reverse. Their notion of the defeat of their party in this State reminds me of the description of an accident I have somewhere seen, which read like this: "Mr. Smith, who was standing on the platform of a railroad car,

when the train rapidly turned a curve in the road, was dashed with great violence on the ground and *broke his neck*, but fortunately received no further injury."

Were there need that any one be admonished of the necessity and imperative duty of maintaining the unity of the Democratic party, let him but remember that its prosperity has been the prosperity of the country; whenever that party has encountered defeat, disaster has befallen the nation. In 1860, the Democratic party was rent in twain: soon, very soon, our beloved country was torn asunder and subjected to all the evils of civil war, although the Democracy had done all in their power (except to concentrate their whole political force upon a single ticket, at the last election.) to avert this war, yet, when enraged, insolent, organized and God-defying treason insulted and fired upon the flag of our nation, the Democracy, as one man, sprang to arms, rushed to the support of the National Government, with a noble patriotism which sank all party differences, in the single indomitable determination that the authority of the laws should be restored, that the glorious stars and stripes should float in triumph over all parts of our country, and that at all hazards *the Union and the Constitution should be preserved*. [Great applause.]

True, their bean-ideal of a Union was not a union of pestilent abolitionism and fire-eating secession,—not a union of hell-born fanaticism and infernal treason,—not a union crimsoned with the blood of helpless children and defenseless women,—not a union seen through the blazing fires of a servile insurrection, enveloping the habitations of millions of people, but a Union such as existed in the halcyon days of the republic,—a union of interests,—a union of prosperity,—a union of affection,—a union of unfading glory,—a union which was born of the necessities of the people, which was rocked in the cradle of the Revolution of '76, and which grew to powerful manhood, under the fostering protection of the Constitution of the United States. [Loud and long continued applause.]

The Constitution! A noble theme! To recount its merits would be to rehearse the history of the nation from its natal day to the present hour. It is that sacred instrument which has given us our domestic prosperity and greatness, and secured for us our proud name among the nations of the earth. The sentiment, "The *Constitution* must and shall be preserved," is indelibly written on the heart of the Democracy,—*ingrained in their very being!* Overthrow the Constitution and you cannot long avert the decay of Democracy and the irretrievable ruin of the country.

It was to prevent such a calamity (which wise men believed was impending over us,) that, last Autumn, the Democracy of this great metropolis rallied in their might, as they had never done before, and rolled up a majority of over thirty-one thousand in favor of placing in the gubernatorial chair Horatio Seymour, the great champion of liberty and the Constitution, "now and forever, one and inseparable." [Great applause.]

Most fortunate for the State and nation it is, that the Empire City gave to the Empire State of this glorious Union a Democratic Governor who knows how to hold the reins of power and guide the State to prosperity and renown. It is but a few days since the *Republican* Governor of Pennsylvania called upon our *Democratic* Governor for military aid, to protect that State from the invasion, plunder and devastation of the rebel hosts. Most nobly did our Democratic Governor respond. He has shown that while he will protect the citizens of the Empire State in their legal and Constitutional rights, he stands ready to aid with the iron hand of military power, in crushing the rebellion; and with extraordinary promptness, he sends the brave militia of New York to protect the soil of a sister State from the unhallowed tread of the armed legions of Southern treason. [Loud applause.] But in fighting the treason of the South, it is no part of his mission, nor is it the destiny of the Democracy, to wage war against the liberty of the North. Let the Democ-

racy sustain the Government in all its legal and Constitutional measures, and the good old ship of state, against which the billows of fanaticism dash with remorseless fury, will yet out-ride the storm.

The time for a Presidential election will soon come, when the voice of the People will be heard uttering the mandate to President Lincoln and those composing his administration, to vacate the high places in the gift of the nation, and make room for those in whom the people can confide. Our Republican friends will then no longer deny that the people with one accord proclaim Horatio Seymour the foremost statesman of America. [Tremendous applause.] God grant that the condition of our institutions may not be such, that on the 4th of March, 1865, when, in obedience to the behests of the people, constitutionally expressed through the ballot box, the Democracy take possession of all branches of the National Government, it may not be their first duty to dig out the priceless jewel—liberty—from beneath the ruins of the noblest fabric the world ever saw—the Constitution of the United States! [Applause.]

In the meantime, let the Democracy slacken not in their zeal and patriotism, but continue manfully to fight the battles of their country, and preserve our beloved, time-hallowed, blood-sealed Union: [Great applause] a Union which for over three quarters of a century has brought us prosperity, greatness, glory, and has given us the first rank in the family of nations.

To borrow the language (slightly paraphrased) of our chosen chief, the Governor of our State, "Therefore it is that we tell you, and we tell the whole world, that this great conservative party—the Democracy—will erect the shattered columns of the Union. We will lift it higher, still nearer Heaven than it was before, and from its lofty top and growing greatness, there shall ever wave your nation's flag, with every

star and every stripe that has been placed there in the wonderful progress of our country; and whatever other parties may say—as for the division of the Union, and the breaking up of that great natural alliance, which is made by nature and nature's God—the *Democracy* will never consent to it. No, never, as long as they have a voice to raise or a hand to fight for this glorious land.” [Loud applause.] Permit me to conclude with a toast :

“Horatio Seymour and the Constitution of the United States! —The teachings of the one and the mandates of the other constitute the creed of the Democracy and the immortality of the nation!” [Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.]

The GRAND SACHEM then gave the fourth regular toast—

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT:—We will continue to render to the Government our earnest and united support in the use of all legitimate means to restore the Union as it was, and maintain the Constitution as it is.

And introduced the Hon. EDWARDS PIERREPONT, who spoke as follows :

GRAND SACHEMS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY:—

I do not know who wrote this toast, but I know that it was printed before the news of these splendid victories of the Union reached us, and I have observed that Tammany is not accustomed to wait for events to shape her principles, but she boldly announces her principles and leaves events to be directed by the “Great Spirit” who will do all things well. I have joy in responding to this toast. It is the “GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES” to which we pledge our “earnest and united support:”—not to man, nor to any set of men do we owe allegiance—not to men nor to any set of men will we pay allegiance—but to the *Government*; 'tis *our* Government, and to that, with one united heart, we give our full and earnest support.

Have you ever considered, fellow-citizens, what would be the consequence if the democratic party should withdraw its sup-

port from the Government? I have taken some pains to learn, from the best sources, something of the politics of our army, and I can assure you, that of the gallant officers who lead our men to battle, a vast majority are democrats: of the brave soldiers who have left their homes to peril their lives in this conflict, a large majority are democrats. Let them withdraw their support from the Government and the war would end in an hour! And have you considered what consequence would swiftly follow such ending to this war? Dissolution—inevitable dissolution of the Union. The war was begun for that definite end. The leading statesmen of the South determined to have a separate and independent Government. For that they scattered the Charleston Convention;—for that they had long prepared the Southern mind—for that they fired on Fort Sumter—for that they suffer every sacrifice and fight like brave men; and on that they stake their hopes, their pride, their life, their all!

If you will look at the map of the United States you will see that two great nations cannot live and preserve a vestige of freedom between the great lakes and the Gulf of Mexico; there could be no lasting peace, and without peace there could be no freedom long. Between the Lakes and the Gulf there is not a dividing line; the waters of the great rivers roll down from the North through the South—can we live with the mouths of our rivers in the possession of an enemy? Shall Fortress Monroe which threatens New York, the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, the Capes of Florida, the entrance to the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mexico, the command of all our trade with California, with South America, with Cuba, the West Indies, the entire Pacific Ocean and with nearly all the world be held by a foreign power, which may at any time become an insolent and hostile foe? Shall New Orleans, Norfolk and Baltimore be free ports, and Boston, New York and Philadelphia be closed by a tariff? Do you imagine that the North will long remain

united with the West after we have made an ignoble peace with the South? There can be no peace except on terms of Union.

The sun that sets on an ignoble peace will never rise on a nation of freemen. When ignoble peace is made Liberty will wipe the dust from her feet on the North and flee away forever. Great standing armies, enormous disbursements by Government, oppressive taxes and a great rival nation by your side with which you may at any time be at war, are sure and swift destroyers of liberty. [Applause.]

This war has lasted much longer than many at first anticipated; but, remember, we have been fighting Americans; it is battle between those of kindred blood, and could we hover over the field of strife we

“On each side could trace
Some lineaments of the same brave father’s face,
And in their spirit *all* of him.”

I rejoice that the South, since fight they would, have fought valiantly; they are my countrymen, and I look forward to the day when, side by side, the North and South shall contend against the arrayed despots of the world and tell with pride how bravely each side fought in the mad civil wars which are past away. This Union will be restored by honorable peace. I have seen families contend about estates with such bitterness that brother would wish to tear a brother’s heart, yet finally the controversy is settled, time soothes the hate, and the brothers find that when their sister is assailed, the past is forgiven and the union for her defense is cordial and complete. So will it be with us if we are true to our manhood and stand united at the North. [Loud Cheers.]

Tell our Government, and those who cry “stop the war,” that they dare not make ignoble peace—they dare not meet the brave soldiers returning from the war, whose valor they would disgrace by a disgraceful peace—they dare not look into the re-

proachful eyes of the wives, the daughters, the sisters and the widows of those who, leaving all most dear, went down to the war with life in their hands to fight for that liberty and union for which our fathers died. [Great applause.]

Those entrusted with the present administration of our Government have received extremest censure. No doubt many faults, many mistakes, many errors have been committed, but these are difficult times; the public mind is excited, this is *civil war*, and it is easy to find fault. Honest men and patriots will pass over lightly many an error which may have been committed in earnest efforts to preserve the integrity of our beloved country.

Many a life-long democrat, too, is severely censured for the errors which he has committed while engaged in the maintenance of our Government. I see in this Hall, on the right of the immortal Washington, the almost equally immortal Henry Clay, and his look from the canvas recalls when his constituents, the hunters of Kentucky, sharply censured him for his vote in Congress; he was offering himself again for their suffrages, and his vote had lost him their favor. He asked them if they had a gun which had served them long and well; which had saved their lives, which had never failed in its aim, which had never missed fire, but should once snap and not go off, whether they would, forgetting all the past fidelity and trust, throw the gun away? or would they pick the flint and try the old faithful piece again? Henry Clay continued to represent Kentucky till he died.

There is but one way to an honorable peace, and a re-union of the States. You cannot bring back the Southern people as a subject race—no power can do that—no right minded man denies that. Do you think that if New York and New England were heartily united, that all the rest of the States could subjugate them?—impose serfdom, or sell a white man for debt? No more can we subjugate the South. We can break their

military power, we can close their sea ports and destroy their prosperity; but make them a conquered people, with unequal rights, never; they are of our own blood, born with unconquerable love of freedom. But they have sense, and when beaten in the field, and when they see that separate government is hopeless, and that there can be no peace without union, peace can then come and without disunion. [Loud applause.]

I would pledge my all—my life—that peace would come in ninety days if the North with one united voice would say to the South: “Division is impossible, it is fatal to the prosperity of of us all, end this unnatural strife, return to the Union which our fathers made, under which we have been so long blest, and every right which the Constitution gave shall be faithfully and sacredly preserved to you. But one country we will have from the lakes to the Gulf, and for that we will fight with one determined heart and soul until the last syllable of time.” [Cheers.]

If that voice was honest it would be heard, and if heard it would bring a speedy and an honorable peace; the clouds of rebellion which have blotted the Southern constellations from the sky would roll away and their stars would shine in all their primal brightness, and this majestic nation would again move on towards the fulfilment of her great destiny.

To the fifth regular toast—

THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:—A wise, patriotic and gallant leader. His career amid the trying duties of this dark period in our history is a bright example of his honesty, capacity and fidelity, worthy of the Empire State and of the great Democratic Party which elevated him to power.

The audience loudly called for Governor SEYMOUR to respond, who, after silence was restored, eloquently addressed the enthusiastic assembly, and in the course of his speech received repeated assurances from the audience of their continued approbation and support.

The sixth regular toast was then given—

THE CITY OF NEW YORK:—Renowned throughout the world for her commercial greatness, the standard of her good name is advanced still higher by the conduct of her thousands who have rallied in defense of those institutions which give security to her prosperity.

To which the Hon. SAMUEL J. TILDEN responded.

To the seventh regular toast—

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY:—Upon its union and success depend the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard of patriotism and principle, or to distract and divide its councils, is an enemy to the country.

The Hon. ROBERT C. HUTCHINGS spoke as follows :

It is impossible for me to respond fully to the toast which has just been proposed, for it opens a field so vast that it could not be replied to even in a series of orations, much less upon an occasion like this. He who would speak justly of the democratic party must repeat the pages of the history of the Republic. Its history is that of the country from the year 1787 to March, 1861, when the chief of a new political dispensation—the representative spirit of a sectional and revolutionary party—revolutionary, because sectional—ascended to the seat filled by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson and others of the long and illustrious line of democratic presidents, and those few others of a different ritual, but acknowledging the same great national faith. It is the history of the country in the days of its union, peace and prosperity, not of these latter days of disunion, civil strife, and disaster. It is the history of the only pure Republic which had ever existed, visioned and contended for so long, and of the only people who had ever fathomed the mysteries of self-government—not the history of the last two years, of the pronunciamientos of military censors, the edicts of prætors and the imperial rescripts, modeled after those of

ancient Emperors, and like those supreme above the Constitution, the laws and the people. This was never the record of the democratic party through its representative chiefs. It governed with only the delegated and defined powers of the Constitution, based upon the limitations of authority—the secret and essence of all free political institutions. It governed in war as in peace, in prosperity, greatness, and in recognition of the guarantees of personal freedom and local rights. It avoided the dangers of centralization—the seed of destruction to so many governments. It recognized the States in the language of Jefferson, the inspired apostle of the democratic faith, to be “coördinate parts of one simple and integral whole”—in the belief and practice of which there was a long reign of union, peace, and prosperity, until the faith of the new dispensation was substituted. This was its policy as it was its record. And when in the history of mankind was there such a free and happy people? Where was there ever a nation that made such a national advance in such a short duration of time? Spreading over a greater territory—reaching to a grander position, because it was not the destroyer of States, but the creator of commonwealths—commanding with a prouder sway than an imperial one, because it ruled by the moral influence of its free institutions, and not by its sword, in little more than three-quarters of a century what took the only rival it has had in ancient or modern days a thousand years of contest.

That greatness, power and glory of the nation is of the past with the greatness, power and glory of the democratic party. When the latter descended the steps of the capitol on the historic and ever mournful day the chosen apostle of the new faith ascended, attended with no auguries of another cycle of union, peace and prosperity, but surrounded with armed power—symbol of his aggressive creed—the nation descended from its high estate of greatness, and its once resplendent banner waved from the capitol of a disintegrated Republic.

Who would exchange the great realizations of the past, the fruits of the democratic creed, for all the promises of the new faith—that faith which seemed to be prophesied by the great philosopher of Germany in his dissection of a fanatical and heathen faith: “This false Paraclete of misconceived promise and idle phantasy, brought and announced to the world, a prophet without miracles, a faith without mysteries, and a morality without love, which has encouraged the thirst of blood, and which began and terminated in the most unbounded sensuality.” Who, in review of that illustrious past in comparison with the miserable present, except the fanatic, would not exclaim: “Better a cycle of democratic supremacy than a thousand years of the abolition visioned paradise, if we have to pass through such seas of blood, and suffer under such tyrannies and humiliations, to reach the gates of the anticipated Union which open into the promised land of universal equality and freedom?”

But the democratic party must not be content at this time with the mere retrospections of the grand past. It must deal with the sad realities of the present, and the dangers of the future to the shattered commonwealth. It must not in its opposition and detestation—so justifiable and patriotic—to the foolish and fanatical men who are now at the helm of the central Government, sacrifice the great American polity—laden with the freight of a nation. This polity is *our* heritage. It is the heritage of our posterity for all time. It is the peerless heritage of liberty to mankind. It is—even in these days of its humiliation—to the despots and parasites of absolutism who watch for its overthrow, as well as to the poor oppressed toilers of the world, and who pray for the success of the Republic—so high above all others in the magnitude of the blessings or miseries which depend upon it, and which “hang trembling in the balance,” like the ancient Republic—the “Tower of the whole earth.” Let our statesmen, then, “unlike Edmund Burke,

never give up to party what was meant for mankind." This polity — the ultimate conception and perfect realization, the masterpiece of civil structure, to which the political dreamers, thinkers and philosophers of all ages contributed parts, which were joined together by the statesmen of our party, of a preceding era, was meant for mankind. But in our respect for the federal authority whenever constitutionally exercised, let us be jealous of the dignity and honor of our own State. It is our State which is the defender of our persons and homes. Central authority is ever ambitious and encroaching. The sovereignty of our State is the bulwark of our liberties. The reservations of local self-independence when parted with are parted with forever. And in the proud position which this great State occupies is not only the present triumph of the democratic party, but the promise of its future national restoration. For the position which she assumes is not one of entreaty, nor of invitation, but it is in the form of an imperial mandate. Let our party continue to educate the people in the principles of civil liberty—lessons which history with its sad warnings shows us are more important in the eras of war than in peace, and also teach our armies, as they are not taught from the seats of federal power, the true and original policy of the war, so that they may bear in place of the results of a barbaric warfare, the promises confirmed by their acts that wherever their eagles are planted in triumph the blessings of the old Union shall follow.

Upon the success of the democratic party depends the restoration of the Union—not merely in its forms, but in its essence. History is the argument of this—the history of three-quarters of a century. The record of the government, controlled by men of a different faith for the last two years, is also the argument. This polity of ours is only perfect and enduring when administered by wise and conservative as well as strong men. When thus administered, it is stronger and more endur-

ing than monarchies or despotisms. When the men who are at its helm, shape its policy and guide its destinies away from the constitutional moorings, and are sectionalists or fanatics, it is "voyaging" like France, as described by Lamartine, "to unknown seas," two of which are however known, anarchy and military despotism.

Let us, then, on this day—the anniversary of the day which gave conception to the Republic, and on which the creed of democracy was proclaimed to the world—renew our covenant to the Union. Though imbecility and fanaticism may seem to control, though our best generals may be forced to rest with their swords in their scabbards because they believe in our faith, let us not falter in devotion to our heritage. If it is to be lost, let not the responsibility rest on us. If the Republic is to pass away, the historian as he gathers up the records of our patriotism and the heroism of our soldiers, will place no censure upon us, but will write this epitaph: "That it died because its rulers hated the democratic party more than they loved the Union!"

It has been beautifully said, that there is a fragrance about the month of July delightful and refreshing to every friend of freedom—not only to us as our day of disenthralment, and the destruction of the Bastille to France, but a month memorable for many great overthrows of tyrannies and sacrifices to freedom. There is an inspiration in covenanting on this day to the cause of a re-united Republic.

The GRAND SACHEM then announced the eighth regular toast: THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES: — Raised and organized from volunteer civilians after a long era of peace, it has in spite of imbecility and criminal mismanagement on the part of the Government, excelled in courage, endurance and gallant achievements the veteran armies of Europe.

General WARD B. BURNETT briefly responded as follows:

GRAND SACHEM, BROTHERS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:—I

thank you for the cordial manner in which you welcome my humble name. In responding to the toast just offered by our worthy brother, I cannot endorse all of the sentiments contained in it. Having served in the regular and volunteer forces of the United States for several years, it is but right and proper to say a few words in their behalf, on an occasion of this kind, to cheer our army onward and to keep alive the memories and deeds achieved by the army of the United States on many a hard fought field, in order that those who may hereafter, as well as those now serving, may emulate the achievements of the victorious past. And whatever may be the individual opinions of those — “who do not go down to the fight,” it does not become me, as a soldier, to cast any reflection, or be in any way associated with an idea or purpose calculated to cast any reflection on the conduct or action of those to whom are entrusted the direction or management of our armies. The conduct of the war, the course of the administration or questions pertaining to it, I leave to the citizen to discuss—the question of how far he can go in that direction to be left to the judgment of the individual with all its responsibilities. With many of the present and past leaders of our gallant army it has been my good fortune to be associated in many a camp and many a field, and without being invidious I can give my humble testimony, that for military genius, personal bravery and courage, they may proudly challenge comparison with any army ever organized in ancient or modern times; their history and deeds are written on every page of our country’s history. And I trust and hope that on this our national holiday, which we are here to celebrate, may be inaugurated by our gallant armies, a series of victories, the effect of which will be the return of our rebellious brethren to their allegiance, so that on our next anniversary we may all exclaim with our national poet—“we *now* have

“ A union of hearts, a union of hands,
 A union of States none can sever ;
 A union of lakes, a union of lands,
 And the Flag of our *Union* forever !”

To the ninth regular toast—

THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES:—It has added additional lustre to the reputation which it had before achieved against an insolent foreign foe.

Captain ISAIAH RYNDERS responded.

The GRAND SACHEM announced the tenth regular toast:

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:—The parent of the common creed of patriotism, at whose altars all may worship, and at whose image it is no idolatry to kneel.

And called upon CYRIL H. BRACKETT to respond, who was received with loud applause, and spoke as follows:

GRAND SACHEM AND FRIENDS:—As an humble democrat I feel it no ordinary compliment to be invited to address you within the time-honored walls of Tammany, where so often in the past have been heard the shouts of triumph for victories which have assured religious and civil liberty. We belong to that proud old party which ostracises no man for his birth or religious opinion.

Stand firmly in the ranks of the democratic party which is the hope of men struggling for rights throughout the world. Another presidential canvass will give the nation an Executive as wise, efficient and honest as our own glorious State presents in the person of a Governor, whose pride it is to ever remember and act in reference to the motto of the State—“*Excelsior*.” His most enduring wreaths have been won by a fearless performance of constitutional obligations, and his name is a household word of affection in the homes of the hills and valleys of a neighboring commonwealth.

Fanaticism and intolerance stand rebuked by Statesmen who will not allow rights to be assailed, or freemen persecuted for exercising their rights.

The writings and the memory of the illustrious Statesman, Thomas Jefferson, are revered by all. He said: "Error of opinion is to be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it;" and though in his time he was assailed and reviled, yet this age has done justice to his opinions,—they are adopted by the intelligent freemen of this land.

The church and the school-house, the courts of justice, and the meetings of American freemen, will remain sacred institutions; and while a free press and free speech will pass unscathed through the storms of civil war,—the puny efforts of those who would destroy them will be remembered only with contempt.

One year from to-day we shall here assemble,—mourning 'tis true,

“ ——— The brave, who sink to rest
With all their country's honors blest,”

yet still prepared to battle for the Constitution and the Union, and upon the eve of a victory, whose fruits will be enduring.

To you, Grand Sachem, who for a quarter of a century have stood firmly by this organization, too much credit cannot be awarded, and for one I give you hearty thanks. Your years have been well passed, and the patriotism you have evinced in the past will be remembered in the future. With the abiding confidence that the kindness which summoned me to speak will generously pardon any errors, I bid you all good day.

The GRAND SACHEM then gave the eleventh regular toast—

THE PRESS:—The enemy of despotism and the pioneer and defender of freedom, it will live to vindicate its power and impart instruction, when military censors and order of suppression exist but in historical infamy.

To which the Hon. CONRAD SWACKHAMER responded.

The twelfth regular toast was then announced—

WOMAN:—As mother, sister, wife or daughter—the most charming solace of our hearts.

Col. GEORGE W. McLEAN responded to this toast as follows—

BROTHERS:—I consent, but not without some hesitation and doubt as to my ability, to comply with the order of our much beloved and venerable Grand Sachem, to respond to the sentiment which has just been drunk:

“Woman, as mother, sister, wife, or daughter, the most charming solace of our hearts!”

How brief the sentiment, and yet how much it expresses. With the dear name of mother crowds all the pleasing and fond recollections of early childhood upon our memories, and touching the sympathetic chords of our hearts, carries us back to the days when the sound of that now missing voice filled our young hearts with joy, she who watched by us and prayed for us as we slept, and with blessings and good wishes asked the protection of the Father of us all for her child from the temptations and dangers which surround us, and amid tears of anxiety, smiling thanked God that he had blessed her with an offspring. Does not filial gratitude and affection prompt us ever to remember how all our joys and happiness, our sorrows and anguish, were shared by her? Is it not a pleasant duty to forget for a moment the busy present, to return to the past, and dwell for a time on that charming solace of our hearts, the fond recollections that cling round the memory of mother?

“ ’Tis thus, though woo’d by flattering friends
And fed with fame (if fame it be)
This heart, my own dear mother bends
With love’s true instinct back to thee.”

Woman, as sister, wife, or daughter, or sweetheart, may I add, what a charming solace to the more matured heart of man, who, having mourned the loss of mother, still finds delight and comfort in the society of the sex. Without her life would have little charm, no hope, no joy, and man’s sorrows no soft, balmy comforter to dispel the dark shadows of disappointment which fall to the lot of all, only to be removed by the warm

human sympathies of woman's heart. As the first genial rays of the sun dispels the gray mist of the morning, so sorrow and sighing fly away and give place to happiness and peaceful homes, by the soothing presence of woman and the influence of woman and the influence of the love and passions which throb only in woman's heart, then let the toast be dear woman, and let every well filled bumper be drained to the dregs in honoring her.

“ Then raise, raise the goblet in transport,
 The spell of life's best joys impart,
 The cup thus devoted to woman
 Proves the only true balm to the heart.

Then the toast, then the toast, be dear woman,
 Let each heart that is manly approve,
 Then the toast, then the toast, be dear woman,
 And nine cheers for the girls that we love.”

The GRAND SACHEM then gave the thirteenth and last regular toast—

THE TAMMANY SOCIETY :—In its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union, ever faithful to its obligations, she has added another proof of her devotion by sending forth her sons to protect and maintain it.

Which was responded to by the Hon. SAMUEL B. GARVIN.

At the conclusion of the last speech GRAND SACHEM PURDY adjourned the meeting until next year, “ at the same time and place,” and the audience separated, having given three hearty cheers for the Governor, three for the Grand Sachem, three for the Orator of the Day, three more for General McClellan, and, finally, three times three for the Tammany Society and their celebration.

LETTERS.

FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, *June 30, 1863.* }

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your invitation to attend the celebration of the Eighty-seventh Anniversary of our National Independence at Tammany Hall. Before the receipt of your letter, I had accepted an invitation to speak with other persons at the Academy of Music on the same occasion. If it is possible, I will be at Tammany Hall at some time during your celebration. I shall be most happy to unite with your ceremonies, as far as I can do so, consistently with my prior engagement.

Truly yours, &c,

TO MESSRS. ELIJAH F. PURDY,
JAS. B. NICHOLSON,
W. M. TWEED,
Committee.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR D. R. FLOYD JONES.

TO HON. E. F. PURDY, *Grand Sachem.*

ALBANY, *June 23, 1863.*

MY DEAR SIR:—I find on my arrival at Albany, to-day, an invitation to unite with the "Society of Tammany," in celebrating the approaching anniversary of our National Independence.

Engagements for the Fourth will prevent my being in the city of New York on that day.

At no time since the commencement of our existence, as a nation, does the value of the Union of these States seem so palpable and inestimable, or the duty of using all constitutional means to effect its restoration, so imperative as at the present, when wicked efforts are being made to render the former impossible and to weaken the obligations of the latter.

Yours, very truly,

D. R. FLOYD JONES.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA, }
SEVENTH ARMY CORPS. }

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

WHITE HOUSE, Va., *1st July, 1863.*

Grand Sachem Tammany Society.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your invitation to unite with the Tammany Society in celebrating the coming anniversary of our National Independence, and to renew our vows to preserve the freedom of our country, "its Union

and integrity, and transmit the sacred inheritance unimpaired to succeeding generations." In all these purposes I sympathize with you most cordially, and it only remains for me to tender to you, and your brother Sachems and officers of the Society, my grateful thanks for the remembrance of me, and my regret that the unhappy condition of the country, which has separated me from my family and friends, renders it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation.

I am, dear Sir, truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

HON. AMASA J. PARKER.

ALBANY, *July 2, 1863.*

ELIJAH F. PURDY, *and others.*

GENTLEMEN:—Accept my thanks for your kind invitation to join with you in celebrating the next anniversary of our National Independence. But, being engaged to address a meeting at Concord, N. H., on that day, I am obliged to decline.

In discharging the patriotic duties of the day, the people will, everywhere, look with intense anxiety to see how our unhappy and distracted country can be relieved from the imminent peril in which it is placed.

In my opinion there is but one hope for the country, and that depends on bringing into power at Washington an entire change of men and of policy. This cannot constitutionally be done till the next presidential election. But if done, even then it may still be in time to gather together the broken fragments of our Constitution, and re-establish the government of the Union.

Conservative men of all parties should unite in endeavoring to accomplish this most desirable result, and I am sure your ancient order will lead the way in this great enterprise.

I am, very respectfully,

Yours, &c.,

AMASA J. PARKER.

HON. LIVINGSTON SPRAKER, NEW YORK.

PALATINE BRIDGE, *July 1, 1863.*

ELIJAH F. PURDY, *Grand Sachem.*

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 18th ultimo, inviting me to attend the celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, to be held at Tammany Hall on the 4th instant, is just at hand. It would afford me great pleasure to be present and participate with you in celebrating the birth day of our nation, but find myself unable to be absent from home on account of previous engagements.

The day is one that should be commemorated by the great American people, because it serves to remind us of the little band of patriots who dared to put forth that declaration of rights, in the face of the crowned heads of Europe, and particularly of Great Britain, which was ratified by the people of this country, and secured after seven years of suffering and privations by our ancestors, and by them bequeathed to us to be transmitted to future posterity unabated. Though our country is passing through a fiery ordeal, yet if we will but put forth the same energy to crush this rebellion and preserve our Union that our revolutionary sires did to maintain the Declaration of our Independence, we will soon bring this unhappy war to a close with the Union restored as it was and the Constitution preserved as it is.

Yours truly,

LIVINGSTON SPRAKER.

SENATOR SAULSBURY, OF DELAWARE.

GEORGETOWNS, DEL., *July 2d*, 1863.

ELIJAH F. PURDY, Esq.,

DEAR SIR:—I regret my inability to be present at the celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence at Tammany Hall, on Saturday next. Independence of a foreign power will avail us but little if we tamely submit to a continuance of executive usurpations, which have well nigh already destroyed the liberties of the people. Even amid the gloom and darkness of the present hour, I would say to my countrymen, if you would preserve your liberties, see to it that the military shall not be independent of, or superior to, but subject to the civil power.

Very respectfully,

WILLARD SAULSBURY.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, RECORDER.

CITY OF NEW YORK, RECORDER'S OFFICE, }
No. 63 WALL STREET. }

Hon. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

NEW YORK, *July 1*, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am very sorry to say that I cannot participate in the 4th of July celebration of the Tammany Society.

I am compelled, by the state of my health, to leave the city for a short time. If I did not feel it absolutely necessary to go I should remain to unite with you and the other members of the Society in celebrating the day, which old Tammany has never failed to honor.

I have before me this moment, certain resolutions of the Tammany General Committee, adopted April 20, 1861, to which your name as chairman is affixed, and which will in all future time receive the approbation and challenge the admiration of every American patriot.

One of these resolutions I beg leave to offer as a sentiment which I hope you will have read. It is as follows:

“Resolved. That the Democracy of this city are heartily united, with all its citizens, as one man, to uphold the Constitution, enforce the laws, sustain the Union, defend the flag, and protect the Capitol of these United States: in the full and firm belief, that this preservation of our national unity, is the only security for the rights, liberties and power of our own people, and the greatest hope of oppressed humanity throughout the world.”

With great respect,

Yours very truly,

JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

HON. JAMES T. BRADY.

NEW YORK, *June 30th*, 1863.ELIJAH F. PURDY, Esq., *Grand Sachem.*

DEAR SIR:—I am sorry that my engagements for the coming 4th of July are such, that I cannot have the pleasure of participating with my brother democrats of the Tammany Society in the celebration of our national anniversary. For the invitation to be present on the occasion I render my hearty thanks.

The letter of invitation is full of suggestion at the present juncture. Its devices and watch words are, just now, of peculiar significance. The rock on which the temple of liberty rests is, indeed, the Constitution, and we rejoice to see the surges vainly beating against its impregnable base. It is only on such a foundation that the fabric of free government can be permanently maintained. With such a support it may defy the violent assault of physical power, or the insidious schemes of perfidious underminers—thus protected, it can and will resist folly, fanaticism, or treachery, retaining its strength and beauty despite of the weakness or wickedness of any, and all the while held high above the bad aspirations or machinations of party.

I am glad to find the duty of preserving the Union, and ensuring civil and religious liberty inculcated in the two mottoes with which the devices of the letter are embellished. All experience has shown that neither can exist without the other. Destroy our Union, and we will inevitably have rival, hostile, and aristocratic governments on our soil, depending for existence upon the sword and not upon the affections of the people. To prevent such a doom is the highest duty we have to perform, and from that duty no man will swerve who deserves to be called a democrat.

Allow me in connection with these views to offer a sentiment :

THE MEMORY OF ANDREW JACKSON—who loving peace much, loved his country more ; and who never hesitated to unsheath the sword against either the foreign or domestic foes of the Union or the Constitution.

Yours truly,

JAS. T. BRADY.

EX-GOVERNOR SEYMOUR, OF CONNECTICUT.

HARTFORD, CONN., *July 2d*, 1863.

MESSRS. D. E. DELAVAN, DOUGLAS TAYLOR, M. T. BRENNAN,
and others, *Committee Society of Tammany.*

GENTLEMEN :—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation of the 18th ult., soliciting my attendance at the “Society of Tammany,” on the occasion of the coming celebration of the “Anniversary of our National Independence.” Having previously accepted the invitation of another patriotic society in your city, I am of course unable to comply with your obliging request. These celebrations will, I trust, have a good effect on the public mind, and serve to revive in all a deeper devotion to the best interests of our whole country. Your excellent motto, “civil and religious liberty, the glory of man”—furnishes a grand text for the present crisis. Permit me to give for a sentiment the brave words of revolutionary birth :

“Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man.”

Very respectfully, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. H. SEYMOUR.

HON. ISAAC TOUCEY, OF CONNECTICUT.

HARTFORD, *July 2d*, 1863.

GENTLEMEN :—I have received the invitation, which you did me the honor to send me, to participate with you in celebrating the Anniversary of our National Independence, on the approaching Fourth of July. I concur with you that “the present vital exigency in our national affairs attaches to the com-

ing celebration a peculiar and absorbing interest, and should induce every lover of his country to renew upon that day his vows to preserve its freedom, maintain its Union and integrity, and transmit the sacred inheritance unimpaired to succeeding generations." It is in this view that unusual importance is given to the celebration of the day which ushered in the declaration that these States are, and of right, ought to be *free, sovereign and independent*. This is the great question now presented to the country, whether the *freedom, sovereignty and independence* of the States, in regard to all that vast mass of ungranted powers by which are regulated by State laws the rights of personal liberty, of personal security, of private property, and the domestic relations, are to be maintained, subject to no limitations whatever, except those voluntarily assumed by the States and embodied in the Federal Constitution? Shall the Federal Constitution be restored to its supremacy throughout the whole country, north, east, west and south, under the same limitations, by the exercise of the granted powers which it contains for its own preservation? Both these are the one and the self same question. This is the only issue before the country. It will receive its solution within the next seventeen months. Those in the affirmative are on one side; those not in the affirmative until the slave laws of the slave States shall be repealed by Federal bayonets, are on the other. These two opinions are irreconcilably opposed to each other—the conflict between them is inexpressible; and not until the latter is supplanted by the former, not until political power is transferred by popular suffrage to conservative men, who unconditionally desire the restoration of the Constitution, is there the least hope that it will be restored to its supremacy or the Declaration of Independence be of much value to the present generation. Regretting that I shall not be able to participate in your celebration,

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

ISAAC TOUCEY.

and others.

HON. S. S. COX, OF OHIO.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, *June 26, 1863.*

DEAR SIR:—Your invitation was received by me at this city to-day. I am away from home; and shall be detained here until after the Fourth, so that I cannot be with you, as I would like.

I have been attending meetings so large and enthusiastic that they may as well be called meetings of THE PEOPLE. Though called in the democratic name, they are inspired by a love for the welfare and honor of the whole people. The "vital exigency," which you refer to in your letter of invitation, seems to have aroused the great west; and like the fabled giant of Sicily, its movement makes the earth quake and the heavens resound with the power of its step and the grandeur of its voice.

Let the east and the west be clasped, not only in maternal but in patriotic bonds of fraternity; and time and effort may give to us again, under God, that blessed unity and honored government, so seriously periled by the thoughtless and violent anarchs of this generation.

I thank you for your invitation.

E. F. PURDY.

Sincerely, &c.,

S. S. COX.

SENATOR PRUYN, OF NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *July 2d*, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—I have received the invitation of the "Tammany Society," to join in their celebration of the coming anniversary of our National Independence, and regret that I am not able to accept it.

I am glad to know that the members of your Society, notwithstanding the distracted condition of our country, do not abate in the patriotic spirit which has always been shown by them, on this occasion.

Their proceedings at this time will, I am sure, tend to the preservation of the Union, to increased respect for the laws, and to the maintenance of the Constitution.

I am, yours with great respect,

ELIJAH F. PURDY, Esq.,

JOHN V. L. PRUYN.

Grand Sachem, New York.

SENATOR GANSON, OF NEW YORK.

ELIJAH F. PURDY,

BUFFALO, *June 26*, 1863.

Grand Sachem, &c.

DEAR SIR:—In compliance with the request in the invitation of "The Society of Tammany," received by me, to participate in celebrating the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, I send you an early reply. Other engagements will prevent my attendance at Tammany Hall on that occasion.

Under ordinary circumstances I would be content with saying nothing more, but "the present vital exigency of our national affairs," as your invitation declares, "attaches to the coming celebration, a peculiar and absorbing interest, and should induce every lover of his country to renew, upon that day, his vows to preserve its freedom, maintain its unity and integrity."

Having from the beginning of the pending rebellion, regarded the preservation of our nationality as paramount to all other considerations, I have uniformly advised and advocated the meeting of armed rebels with arms, and opposed any policy which tended, in any degree, to a dismemberment of the Union, and discountenanced any war which had not for its sole object, the restoration of the government under the Constitution as it was framed by the wise men of the revolution.

It is our duty to make every effort within our power to suppress the existing insurrection, and not to submit to any peace which has not the accomplishment of that object in view. It is our duty to compel, by arms, those who have taken up arms to sever the Union, to submit to the enforcement of the laws. While we are engaged in this effort it behooves us to be watchful, that those in authority do not weaken the government by the exercise of arbitrary or doubtful powers.

If, in attempting to suppress the rebellion, we silently acquiesce in a disregard by those in authority, of the Constitution or the laws, especially where the administration of justice is unimpaired and unimpeded in our Courts, by arms, we fall far short of our duty. We should not exact obedience from others to a Constitution which we are unwilling to obey ourselves. We should be jealous of our own rights, and be willing to secure the rights of others to them. We should, standing and acting upon this principle, declare there should not be peace till the Union is restored, our nationality preserved, the Constitution maintained, and the laws enforced on every foot of our soil, or that we will perish in the attempt. We should make the rebels feel that their rights would be protected, if they will lay down their arms, in accord-

ance with the guarantees of the Constitution. Let our motto be: "While the rebels are in arms, we will meet them with arms; when they submit to laws, they shall be protected by laws"

Your obedient servant,

JOHN GANSON.

HON. DAVID L. SEYMOUR, OF NEW YORK.

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

TROY, *July 1, 1863.*

SIR:—I am in receipt of the invitation of the Tammany Society to join them in the celebration of the next anniversary of our National Independence, and regret to say that previous engagements will prevent my attendance on that occasion.

The circumstances surrounding our country at the present time are fraught with such imminent danger to our government, that an unusual interest attaches to this anniversary.

The natal day of the Republic recalls to our recollection the glories of that revolution in which our patriotic ancestors achieved our independence and established the great Republic of the west, founding its institutions upon the principles of eternal truth, and making it the asylum of the oppressed of all nations.

For eighty-six years this government stood, strengthening itself and extending its limits until it had spanned the continent, and its power had become known and was respected throughout the civilized world. Such was the position of honor and pride which our nation occupied but yesterday.

And as in the ancient Roman Republic, so here, every American however humble he might be, felt a glow of exultation and national pride, as pointing to his country, he exclaimed: "I AM AN AMERICAN CITIZEN."

To-day all is changed. Our glorious Union, the source of our strength and prosperity is severed. Our prestige of power as a nation is gone. A bloody civil war is raging in the bosom of our once peaceful and prosperous land. An hundred battle fields are strewn with the mangled corpses of those who have fallen in this unnatural contest. Our armies massed around the Capitol, are required to protect the Chief Executive and the officers of our government, while powerful armies of the insurgents are ravaging the country from the Rappahannock to the Susquehanna.

The patriotic citizens of the North when they inquire for the causes of these great disasters which have so sadly reversed the glorious picture of our former greatness and glory, will readily find it in the principles and policy of two extreme parties in our country—the secessionists of the South and the abolitionists of the North. They both have combined to war upon that Constitution and its compromises, which has made us North and South one people. They both to-day mutually exult in its prostration, and hope for its utter and final overthrow.

There is but one party which can save our country in this most trying exigency of public affairs. That party is the party of the Union and the Constitution; a party embracing all the democratic and conservative masses of the country; a party not organized merely to attain power, and to distribute the spoils of office, but inspired, moved and directed by the one all-absorbing idea that the salvation of the country depends upon maintaining "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was."

Your time-honored association will, I doubt not, lead, as it has always done in this noble work, to reestablishing order, Constitutional right, and the sway of the laws. Free speech, a free press, and personal liberty, now ruthlessly assailed and trodden down, must be reasserted and reestablished at all hazards.

'The liberties of a people can only exist while these defences are maintained, nor can peace and Constitutional Union ever be restored to our country, until the Constitution and the rights of all the States of the Union, and of all citizens North and South under it, be respected and protected.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

DAVID L. SEYMOUR.

HON. JOHN R. BRADY, JUDGE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

ELIJAH F. PURDY, Esq.,

NEW YORK, *July 2d*, 1863.

Grand Sachem.

DEAR SIR:—I am much pleased to have the opportunity to renew, through the Tammany Society, my vows to preserve the freedom of our country, to maintain its Union and integrity, and to transmit the sacred inheritance unimpaired to succeeding generations. The democratic party has stood firm in its support of the Union, its institutions and its laws, and it will never prove recreant while one voice is left to proclaim its devotion. Dauntless and unswerving it will rise and rule, though vanquished for a time, and under its sway the Republic shall flourish, and make still stronger and broader the base upon which its columns must rest forever. The sovereign gift has a sovereign remedy when abused, and to the ballot we must turn when the power we have conferred is violated, leaving our rights meanwhile to the tribunals of the land. In peace and in war the motto of our party has been: "*The Union, it must and shall be preserved.*"

For this our brethren have fought and died, and for this, to-day, they are front to front with the fratricides who would sever our home and rob us and the world of that great united inheritance, which among other blessings secures to us civil and religious liberty. Much as we have done in council and in the field, much is yet to be done by us to restore the Union under the Constitution, and to make it as it has been in brighter hours, a beacon guide and asylum to the oppressed of all climes.

I regret that I cannot be with you to express more in detail the love I bear my country, and the hope that our party shall ever be foremost to protect its interest, integrity and honor.

Very truly yours,

JNO. R. BRADY.

HON. WM. W. EATON, OF CONNECTICUT.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MAY SESSION, A. D. 1863. }

HARTFORD, CONN., *June 26th*, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR:—I desire to express my sincere thanks for the honor conferred upon me by the Tammany Society, in requesting me to participate in the celebration of the anniversary of American Independence.

I regret to say that my official engagements will prevent my being present on the occasion.

The present condition of the country demands the wise exertion of every friend of order and of Constitutional law, and, while we should use our utmost efforts to restore our old Union with all its checks and balances, the democracy should sternly demand that all public servants should faithfully adhere to the powers conferred upon them by the organic law, and any departure therefrom should be denounced by the people.

That time-honored old Tammany will perform her full part in this crisis of our history I do not permit myself to doubt.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly, your obedient servant,

Hon. E. F. PURDY.

WM. W. EATON.

HON. JOHN VAN BUREN

ELIJAH F. PURDY,

Grand Sachem.

KINDERHOOK, June 29th, 1863.

I greatly regret that it will not be in my power to accept the invitation of the Tammany Society, of which I have long been a member, and which contains so many valued friends, to unite with them in celebrating the approaching anniversary of our Independence.

You do right in assuming that the present exigency attaches a peculiar and absorbing interest to the day, and to no celebration of it will that interest be more carefully extended than to yours. Members of an ancient and honorable fraternity, established in 1789, not as a political association, but bearing on its roll the names of some of the truest patriots that ever lived, our action in this crisis should be worthy of the reputation the society has now, and the responsibility that belongs to us.

The country is involved in a war, for the commencement of which, as well as the mode of its prosecution, we are in no degree responsible. Rebels against the lawful authority of the general government have assumed to dissolve the Union. In such a crisis you fitly recur to the patriot's pledge: "The Union must and shall be preserved." The whole effective force of the loyal States should be bent to this object; a cordial union of sentiment should sustain our armies in the field. Measures of questionable expediency should be avoided; a generous forbearance should be used in criticising or opposing the action of the general government. Party considerations, and action should be hushed in the present peril of the Republic, and the absorbing patriotism which presided over our revolutionary history, and marked the initiation of our society, should resume its sway. Rely upon it, those who act upon this platform now, will not only serve to save the country, but will prove in the end the truest friends of their party organizations and political associates. That this spirit will breathe through your celebration, I trust and believe. And again express my regret at being unable to participate in a festival which will thus reflect credit upon the society, and go far to sustain the honor of the country. Thanking you for the kindness of your invitation,

I am, truly yours,

J. VAN BUREN.

JUDGE ALONZO C. PAIGE.

ELIJAH F. PURDY,

Grand Sachem of the Society of Tammany.

SCHENECTADY, July 1, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—I regret my inability to accept the invitation of the Society of Tammany to meet and participate with its members in the celebration of the next anniversary of our Independence. Nothing can be conceived by any lover of his country more appropriate, than on that day "to renew his vows to preserve its freedom, maintain its union and integrity, and transmit the sacred inheritance unimpaired to succeeding generations."

This object, dear to the heart of every American citizen, can only be accom-

plished by the preservation of the Constitution. This Constitution created—its maintenance will restore the Union. Devotion to it, and reverence for it, must be cultivated. It was the violation of the obligations it imposes, and the open assaults upon it, and upon the rights it guarantees, that destroyed the fraternal relations between the North and the South, and arrayed the two sections against each other in deadly strife. The example and the warning voice of our revolutionary fathers were disregarded. The farewell admonitions of Washington ceased to influence us. Sectionalism was suffered to spring up in the North and South to divide us. Fraternal love by the acrimony of Northern and Southern disunionists was turned into fraternal hate. Political fanaticism at the North and devotion to Southern institutions at the South, and exasperation there at Northern attacks made upon them, suggested at the North the dogmas of the higher law, and that the States must necessarily become all slave or all free; and at the South the Revolutionary doctrines of nullification and secession. The authors and advocates of these false and disorganising dogmas and doctrines will be held by the future historian responsible for the civil war which is now devastating our fair land with fraternal blood. The nomination of a sectional candidate for the presidency, standing upon a sectional platform, and elected by a sectional vote, as might have been expected, and as the supporters of this candidate were during the canvass daily admonished, was seized upon by Southern disunionists to precipitate the Southern States into open rebellion. The celebration of the ensuing anniversary will be an appropriate occasion for constitutional union men, the democratic and conservative citizens of the United States to survey calmly the present critical and disastrous condition of our country, and to determine upon means and a policy to accomplish a restoration of the Union upon the principles of the Constitution. There will be a demand upon them for the exercise of all their wisdom and patriotism, and of the greatest forbearance. They will, doubtless, see that there is a class of politicians at the North who are enemies of the present Constitution and of the old Union; and that these reckless men seek to annihilate the insurrectionary States, to subvert the Constitution and to reconstruct the Government upon the principles of abolition of Slavery by the aid of the military power. The moral guilt of these men is not less in degree than that of the rebel in arms. The designs and machinations of these men must be watched with ceaseless vigilance and defeated. The unconstitutional policy which has been adopted by the President and Congress in the conduct of the war, and which by uniting and exasperating the South, changing loyalty into treason, has given increased power and energies to the rebellion, must be abandoned. The war must be a constitutional war, prosecuted solely to restore the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired. Only men who respect the Constitution and the principles of civilized warfare must be placed at the head of our armies, and selected as the advisers of the President. But the most efficacious remedy for our national calamities is the overthrow of the party in power by the agency of the peaceful, but the resistless ballot. We have waited long and anxiously for an improvement in the management of our national affairs. But we have waited in vain. Disaster has succeeded disaster to our armies, until we have become satisfied, that unless the President will dismiss his cabinet and change his policy, it is only under a democratic and conservative administration that the war can be prosecuted with sufficient vigor, wisdom and skill to overthrow the rebellion. That it is only under such an administration that the Constitution and the principles of a civilized warfare will be respected; that the wealth of the nation and the blood of our heroic soldiers will only be expended in the cause of the Union, and that the several States can be re-united upon the principles of the Constitution, with all their original rights unimpaired.

Yours, respectfully,

A. C. PAIGE.

BRIG.-GENERAL JOSIAH T. MILLER.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE, }ALBANY, *July 1, 1863.*

GENTLEMEN:—I am in receipt of an invitation to participate in the celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, with the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order. I desire very much to meet with you on this occasion, and regret that unexpected official duties prevent my acceptance of your invitation. Permit me, however, to return my thanks to the Sachems for their courtesy to me, and to express my appreciation of the patriotic services, in the past, of the ancient, and very honorable order, which they represent.

Tammany is inseparably connected with the best days of the Republic, and with the brightest pages in the history of the democratic party, and of the American Union. When dangers threaten, the eyes of true men turn to her Council Chamber, and they have never been disappointed.

Tammany has never failed to declare for the right with a will, and with a power. She will not fail in the dark hour of our country's humiliation and trial.

Had the people of the North heeded her warnings in the past, the present affliction would have been spared our land, and if her teachings shall be followed in the future, peace and prosperity will again return to, and bless our people. That such may be the speedy issue of our nation's trials, is the sincere wish of your humble servant,

ELIJAH F. PURDY, Esq.,

JOSIAH T. MILLER.

and others, New York.

HON. FRED. A. TALLMADGE, CLERK COURT OF APPEALS.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
COURT OF APPEALS, CLERK'S OFFICE. }

E. F. PURDY, Esq.,

ALBANY, *July 1st, 1863.*

DEAR SIR:—Be pleased to present my sincere thanks to the officers of "the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order," for their kind and cordial invitation, to meet with them and participate in the festivities of the coming anniversary of our National Independence.

Descended from an ancestry, who zealously, but feebly, aided in its attainment, I should prove a reckless son were I to hesitate to unite with the patriotic sons of "old Tammany," in commemorating the glorious results of the efforts of our fathers.

I shall be proud to be with you on this interesting occasion, if the duties, incident to the situation, in which your kind partiality has placed me, will permit, and am truly and sincerely the Committee's humble servant.

F. A. TALLMADGE.

HON. J. S. BOSWORTH, JUSTICE OF SUPERIOR COURT.

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

NEW YORK, *June 25, 1863.**Grand Sachem of the Society of Tammany.*

DEAR SIR:—It will give me pleasure to unite with the Society of Tammany in celebrating the next anniversary of our National Independence, if it is practicable for me to be in the city. I must go into the country on Monday

next with my family, one of whom is too much of an invalid to travel without my personal assistance, and I may not be able to return by the Fourth of July.

The more we see in our present condition to awaken apprehension and alarm, the more necessity there is for cool and earnest reflection, and for united efforts to preserve our common country.

Every honest man and true patriot must feel humiliated that the free States are now invaded by the rebels; their citizens despoiled of their property and driven in panic from their homes, and that our vessels, navigating the ocean, are captured and burned in the close proximity to our city.

There should, and as it seems to me, there can be but one feeling and purpose, and that is, to put an end to a condition of things so alarming and discreditable, and make a vigorous, common and cordial effort to crush the rebellion, uphold the Union in its integrity, and defend and preserve the Constitution, under which we had uninterrupted prosperity, while observing its guarantees in good faith, according to their letter and spirit.

That the proposed celebration may tend in some degree to so auspicious a result, must be the earnest wish of every one who has any regard for the interests and honor of our common country.

Very sincerely and respectfully yours,

J. S. BOSWORTH.

HON. C. L. MONELL, JUSTICE SUPERIOR COURT.

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

NEW YORK, *June 24, 1863.*

Grand Sachem of Tammany Society.

DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of the invitation of the Sachems to meet and participate with them in the celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, for which please present to the society my warmest acknowledgements. I regret that having already made my arrangements to pass the day out of the city, I shall be unable to meet the society on the occasion referred to.

At no period in the life of the nation, has there been occasion for more profound solicitude for its future existence. The long continuance of the war; the desperate resistance of those in rebellion; the defeats and disasters to our arms, and the unparelled magnitude of this wide spread defection from the government and its authority, must fill all with deep anxiety and apprehensions. But our hopes, although thus deferred, are not lost. The nation still lives! its vital powers remain, and with the blessing of heaven, it will again, and soon I trust, be restored to peace and happiness. Such a peace can now only be effected by the power of our arms. A peace procured in any other way would be *war* forever afterward.

The approaching celebration will be a fitting occasion to arouse to new and more determined efforts to end, by quick and decisive conquests, this deep laid plot to destroy the Union of the States. And I doubt not that the Tammany Society will speak with emphasis in expressing its abhorrence for the rebellion and its determination to stand firmly by the government and the country.

I am, with great respect,

Very truly yours,

CLAUDIUS L. MONELL.

COL. H. S. LANSING, SUPERINTENDENT NEW YORK TROOPS.

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

NEW YORK, *24th June, 1863.*

Grand Sachem, &c.

DEAR SIR:—I accept with pleasure the invitation to join in the celebration

of the coming "Fourth of July," with the noble order over which you preside, and I shall be present, if my duties at the present crisis will permit.

The coming celebration falls upon us in a most critical hour, and it behooves every good citizen and lover of his country, to rally round the old Constitution and flag, for the preservation of the Union: and having always been unshaken in my faith, that this salvation lay only with the great democratic party of our country, I can join on this occasion with a full heart and earnest hope for its final restoration.

I am, respectfully, &c.,

H. S. LANSING.

EX-RECORDER TILLOU, OF NEW YORK.

No. 42 LAIGHT STREET, NEW YORK.

July 2, 1863

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your kind invitation to attend the meeting of Tammany Society, at Tammany Hall, on the 4th instant, the anniversary of our National Independence, for which I thank you, but for which, from circumstances which control me, I find, to my regret, I am unable to avail.

With all the sentiments expressed in your invitation I cordially agree, nay more, such do I consider the degree of the existence to which you refer, that I believe, that not only should every lover of his country renew the vows you mention, but maintain them, by contributing freely—even if needful—to the extent of all his energies in his power, his abilities and his means, and of the sacrifice of life, towards the preservation of the Union, the Constitution and the Government, (in my judgment the most beneficent now on earth), and the integrity of the nation.

Though unable to be personally with you, be assured that I shall sympathize with you in the enjoyments which you will justly have at a meeting so patriotic, and so excellent in its purpose.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL E. DELAVAN,

F. R. TILLOU.

and others, *Sachems, &c., Tammany Society.*

HON. ELI P. NORTON, NEW YORK.

HON. ELIJAH F. PURDY,

NEW YORK, July 3, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—I regret that previous engagements will prevent me from participating with the Tammany Society in their celebration on the 4th of July.

It is grateful to a patriotic man to see that your old Order still adheres to the custom of those better days of the Republic, when the commemoration of our Independence was in the midst of the soldiers and sages of the Republic who still survived.

One's memory runs back to the year in which your Society was established. It was the year in which in our own city of New York, our government was organized. Faithful to that government, whose organization was coeval with its own, old Tammany has given us all lessons of patriotism which will not be forgotten.

May she ever continue to be true to the maxims of the Fathers of the Republic—the men of 1789!

Yours truly,

ELI P. NORTON.

THE HON. RICHARD VAUX, of Philadelphia, concludes his admirable letter—in which in a comprehensive and statesman-like manner, he discusses at length the questions of the day—with the following patriotic counsel :

“Let us, then, on the coming 4th of July, make a solemn vow on the altar of our country, to devote our lives, fortunes, and sacred honor for the reëstablishment of the Constitution and the Union as our fathers made them, by the means our fathers used, for the end our fathers labored, with the hope which gave our fathers strength, with the wisdom they asked of God to give them, with a determination and a will which God blessed—by turning the water of purity of purpose, into the wine of triumph at these results !”

THE HON. GILBERT DEAN, of New York, after alluding to the critical condition of the country, and the necessity for harmony and union in the democratic ranks, terminates as follows :

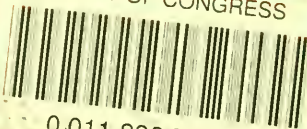
“Let us say that there shall be *no war except to restore the Union, and no peace but on the basis of the CONSTITUTION and the UNION restored !*”

The Committee acknowledge the receipt of letters, (which they regret their inability to find room for,) from a number of well known democrats, including—

HON. CHAS. W. CARRIGAN, of Pa.,	JUDGE INGRAHAN, of New York,
REAR ADMIRAL PAULDING,	JUDGE MONCRIEF, of New York,
GEN. AARON WARD,	RICHARD O'GORMAN, Esq.,
HON. WM. H. LEONARD,	WM. A. KOBBE, Esq.,
HON. ISAAC C. DELAPLAINE,	HON. DANIEL F. TIEMANN,
UDOLPHO WOLFE, Esq.,	HON. ROYAL PHELPS,
WM. E. CURTIS, Esq.,	CORNELIUS MATTHEWS, Esq.,
BENJAMIN RAY, Esq.,	PHILIP W. ENGS, Esq.,
WM. E. WARREN, Esq.,	JOHN E. BURRILL, Esq.,
HON. A. W. CRAVEN,	B. F. DELANO, Esq.,

&c., &c., &c.

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